THE REVIEW OF THE

roots of youth violence

Findings, Analysis and Conclusions

Executive Summary

Community Perspectives Report

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volume 5

LITERATURE REVIEWS

The Honourable Roy McMurtry Dr. Alvin Curling

Ontario

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The Root Causes of Youth Violence: A Review of Major Theoretical Perspectives

A Report Prepared for the Review of the Roots of Youth Violence

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Introduction

Violent crime involving youth can take many shapes and forms and involve many different types of people. The following cases, for example, represent the many types of violent crime that have taken place in Ontario over the past decade:

- A gang member is beaten up and robbed by a rival gang. He reports this victimization to his fellow gang members. They retaliate by shooting and killing one of their rivals in the parking lot of a local shopping mall.
- One young man insults another's girlfriend at a nightclub. The victim retaliates by punching the offender in the face. The two are thrown out of the nightclub. The fight continues on the street, where one youth is stabbed to death.
- A young man forces his new girlfriend to have sex against her will. She does not report the crime to her parents or to the police.
- A drug dealer severely beats a customer who can't repay a drug debt.
- Three youths severely beat a stranger, threaten him with a gun, and rob him of his coat, wallet, and cellphone.
- A brawl breaks out between players at an amateur hockey game. Fans engage in fights in the stands. Numerous charges are laid.
- A local gang shoots to death a stranger they believe is selling drugs on their turf.
- A group of friends bully another student by threatening her, calling her names and excluding her from group activities.
- A young man brings a gun to a park in order to threaten a group of youths who have been assaulting and teasing him over the past two years.
- A young woman experiences threats and assaults at school because of the colour of her skin.

These are only a few examples of the types of violent incidents that sometimes take place in our society. The first question that often emerges when faced with such acts of violence is, why? Why did this crime occur? What motivated the offenders to engage in this type of behaviour? Can one theory or explanation account for all of these incidents? Or can violence be caused by multiple factors?

Discovering and documenting the root causes of crime and violence has been a primary objective of crime scholars for over a hundred years. It is widely believed that if we can only identify the cause or causes of criminality, we will be better able to prevent violence in the first place, or at least be in a position to punish, treat, or rehabilitate those identified as violent offenders. A number of academic disciplines – including anthropology, biology, criminology, psychiatry, psychology, social work, and sociology – have developed specific theories to explain the onset and persistence of violent behaviour. Some of these theories focus on how individual propensities – including biological and psychological disorders – increase the probability of violence. At the other end of the spectrum, structural theories propose that variables like poverty, oppression, social inequality and racism must be considered in any explanation of violent behaviour. Still others maintain that the source of violence lies in family dynamics, neighbourhood characteristics or peer socialization processes. It is quite difficult to negotiate and organize the plethora of ideas, hypotheses and empirical findings that mark the study of crime and violence.

The purpose of this report is to briefly outline major theories that have examined the root causes of crime and violence. A full discussion of the many studies and research results associated with each of these theoretical perspectives is well beyond the scope of this document. Indeed, a quick examination of the reference section will reveal that volumes have already been devoted to each of the theories reviewed below. Thus, the purpose of this report is to review the major principles or concepts associated with each theory, examine major research findings that either support or refute these principles, and briefly discuss major policy implications. It should be noted that this report is not concerned with evaluating whether the crime prevention programs or initiatives associated with each theory are effective. Program evaluation, however, is the focus of another report commissioned by the Review of the Roots of Youth Violence.

The discussion below begins with a review of biosocial theories of crime. It includes a discussion of brain chemistry, neurophysiological conditions, genetics and evolutionary factors that account for violent human behaviour. We then turn to a discussion of psychological explanations of crime, including a review of the relationship between personality, intelligence, mental illness and violent behaviour. We then examine rational choice and routine activities theories that hold that all human actions – including violence – are products of rational decision-making at the individual level. We then move on to a discussion of how social conditions – including community disorganization, economic deprivation, social inequality and strain – impact criminality. This section is followed by a review of the social learning and sub-cultural perspectives. These theories maintain that violence is learned through association with deviant role models, including family members and peers. Included in this section is a review of the literature on how the media may impact violent behaviour at both the individual and societal level. The next section reviews the literature on social control and self-control theories of deviance. We then examine theoretical attempts to integrate the major principles of disparate crime causation theories. Finally, the report concludes with a discussion of critical perspectives that greatly expand the definition of violence and point to the role power relations play in the perpetuation of violence in modern societies.

Chapter 1:

Biosocial Theory

Scholars have long attempted to identify the biological determinants of crime and violence. Indeed, the historical record indicates that many of the earliest criminologists – including Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909), Raffaele Garofalo (1852–1934) and Enrico Ferri (1856–1929) – believed that certain physical characteristics indicated a "criminal nature" (see discussions in Englander, 2007; Siegel and McCormick, 2006; Ellis, 2005; Fishbein, 2001; Paternoster and Bachman, 2001).

Lombroso's manuscript *L'Uomo Delinquente* (The Criminal Man) is perhaps the most famous of these early efforts to draw a direct link between biology and crime (Lombroso, 1876). A professor of medicine at the University of Turin, Lombroso conducted his research in the Italian prison system. As part of his work, he collected detailed anatomical measurements of prisoners and compared them with measurements taken from "ordinary" Italian citizens. According to Lombroso, criminals possessed certain physical characteristics (including long arms and fingers, sharp teeth, abnormal amounts of body hair, extended jaws, etc.) that distinguished them from ordinary citizens. In sum, he argued that criminals were atavists – biological throwbacks to an earlier period of human evolution. He further maintained that these atavists engaged in criminal activity, including violence, because it was instinctive for them to do so. Finally, because they are the product of biological forces, Lombroso felt that criminals lack free will and are thus not morally responsible for their actions.

The work of Lombroso and his contemporaries was largely discounted by modern criminologists. To begin with, many of these early studies were based on small, non-random samples and rarely involved adequate control groups. Furthermore, many of the physical traits that these scholars assumed to be genetically determined could have been caused by deprived social conditions, including poor nutrition and health care. Lombroso also failed to consider the many social factors that could lead to criminality. Thus, after being dismissed as methodologically unsound and naive, biocriminology fell out of favour during the early 20th century. During this period, scholars turned their attention to more sociological explanations of criminal behaviour (discussed below).

An interest in the biological correlates of crime, however, was rekindled in 1970s after the publication of Edmund O. Wilson's book entitled *Sociobiology*. Wilson (1975) argued that people are biosocial organisms whose behaviours are influenced by both their physical characteristics and the environmental conditions they are faced with. Rather than viewing criminals as people whose behaviours are totally controlled or predetermined by their biological traits, modern biosocial theorists believe that physical, environmental, and social conditions interact in complex ways to produce human behaviour (see Englander, 2007; Ellis, 2005; Fishbein, 2001; Yaralian and Raine, 2001). Biosocial thinkers ask a basic question: When faced with the same environmental stressors, why do some people engage in violence while most people do not? They further maintain that certain biological abnormalities or physical disabilities may make some individuals more prone to violence or aggression than others. The perspective of many sociobiologists was captured by van den Bergle (1974: 779):

> What seems no longer tenable at this juncture is any theory of human behaviour which ignores biology and relies exclusively on sociocultural learning. Most scientists have been wrong in their dogmatic rejection and blissful ignorance of the biological parameters of our behaviour

The following sections briefly outline some of the important topics within the bio-criminological tradition. First we will review the biochemical factors believed to affect behaviour. Then we will discuss the alleged relationship between brain function and violence, followed by a discussion of the possible link between genetics and crime. Finally, we will briefly review evolutionary views regarding crime causation.

Biochemical Conditions and Crime

Some biosocial theorists believe that biochemical conditions – including those acquired through diet – can control or influence violent behaviour. Biochemical factors that might influence aggression range from nutrition to allergies.

Nutritional Deficiencies

Biocriminologists maintain that minimum levels of vitamins and minerals are required for normal brain functioning. Medical research suggests that proper nutrition is especially important during early childhood. Nutritional deficiencies at this stage in child development can result in serious physical, mental and behavioural problems (Liu and

Wuerker, 2005; Neisser et al., 1996). Research also suggests that improving diet quality can reduce delinquency and dramatically improve the mental functioning and the academic performance of adolescents (see Schoenthaler and Bier, 2000). Other studies indicate that deficiencies in potassium, calcium, amino acids, sodium, peptides, and other nutrients can lead to depression, mania, and cognitive problems. Such mental health issues can, in turn, significantly increase the probability of violent behaviour. Similarly, studies have found a strong link between anti-social behaviour and insufficient quantities of vitamins B3, B6 and C (Siegel and McCormick, 2006; Liu and Wuerker, 2005; Krassner, 1986).

Diets high in sugar and carbohydrates have also been linked to violence, aggression and other behavioural issues (Gans, 1991). One experiment with incarcerated youths, for example, found that reducing sweet foods and drinks in the prison diet produced a 45 per cent decline in institutional violence (Schoenthaler and Doraz, 1983). However, more recent studies suggest that most people with high sugar/carbohydrate diets never engage in serious violence and that, for some individuals, sugar actually has a calming effect that reduces aggression (Gray, 1986; Wolraich et al., 1994).

Other studies indicate that how the brain metabolizes glucose may determine whether sugar causes anti-social behaviour. Hypoglycemia, for example, is a condition that causes glucose to fall below the level needed to maintain normal brain functioning (the brain is the only organ that obtains all of its energy from glucose). Symptoms of hypoglycemia include anxiety, depression, insomnia, nervousness, mood swings, phobias and temper tantrums. A number of important studies have found a significant relationship between hypoglycemia and violence – including assault, homicide and rape. Furthermore, studies of prison populations have found higher than normal rates of hypoglycemia among habitually violent inmates (Seigel and McCormick, 2006; Virkkunen, 1986).

Hormonal Influences

In his manuscript entitled *The Moral Sense*, renowned criminologist James Q. Wilson argues that hormones and neurotransmitters may explain gender differences in violent behaviour. He maintains that gender differences in exposure to androgens (male sex hormones) explain why males are naturally more violent than females and why females are more nurturing and empathetic (Wilson, 1993). Hormone levels have also been purported to explain the aging out of violence. In other words, some scholars feel that the decrease in violent behaviour with age is directly related to age-related declines in androgen levels. Many have observed that both violence and androgen production in males peak during adolescence (Gove, 1985; Booth and Osgoode, 1993; Piquero and Brezina, 2001). Others have argued that artificially increasing the level of male hormone within the body – through steroid use – can contribute to explosive episodes of violence, often referred to as "roid rage" Recent studies have provided limited support for this hypothesis (see Pedersen et al., 2001; Isacsson et al., 1998).

A number of biosocial theorists are currently exploring the relationship between hormone levels and violent behaviour. Indeed, several studies have produced findings that suggest that abnormally high androgen levels are, in fact, correlated with aggressive behaviour (see Ellis, 2005; Raine, 2002; Fishbein, 2001; Rappaport and Thomas, 2004). Testosterone is the most abundant androgen. Research suggests that prenatal exposure to high levels of testosterone – sometimes as a result of medical intervention – can sometimes result in higher levels of aggression in female children. By contrast, during fetal development, males who are exposed to drugs that lower androgen levels display lower levels of aggression through childhood and adolescence (see Reiss and Roth, 1993). Studies of inmate populations have also found that testosterone levels are significantly higher among offenders convicted of violent offences than among those convicted of property crimes (Kreuz and Rose, 1972).

In a thorough meta-analysis of the research literature, researchers from Queen's University in Ontario found a small but statistically significant relationship between testosterone levels and violence. However, this study also found that the influence of androgens varies dramatically from study to study and from culture to culture. Furthermore, researchers have yet to determine causality. For example, although some argue that testosterone levels cause violence, new evidence suggests that engaging in or observing violent behaviour can actually cause a dramatic increase in testosterone levels (see Book et al., 2001).

High testosterone levels are thought to increase the probability of violent behaviour in three distinct ways. First of all, the presence of male sex hormone is thought to decrease an individual's sensitivity to adverse environmental stimuli. Those with high testosterone levels are thus more likely to take risks, more likely to seek excess stimulation and more capable of tolerating pain in their quest for thrills. Secondly, androgens are also linked to brain seizures that, under stressful situations, can result in emotional volatility. Finally, androgen exposure causes neocortical functioning to be less concentrated in the left hemisphere of the brain. The left hemisphere of the neocortex, of course, is the part of the brain that determines sympathetic feelings for others. Thus, these three factors, alone or in combination, may help explain the apparent relationship between male hormone levels and violent behaviour (Ellis, 2005).

It must be stressed that androgens are not the only hormonal risk factor associated with violent behaviour. It has long been suspected, for example, that the onset of the menstrual cycle often triggers the release of excessive amounts of female sex hormones (estrogen and progesterone). This rise in female hormone levels may, in turn, contribute to an increase in anti-social behaviour. This phenomenon is commonly known as Premenstrual Syndrome (PMS). The possible link between PMS and violence was first documented in England, where studies identified that women were more likely to commit suicide or engage in other aggressive behaviours just before or during menstruation (see Dalton, 1971; Horney, 1978). More recently, Diana Fishbein, a leading biocriminologist, documented that a disproportionate number of incarcerated females committed their crimes during the premenstrual phase (see Fishbein, 2001; Fishbein, 1996).

In sum, although some research suggests that there may be a moderately strong relationship between hormone levels and violence, criminologists remain cautious about the explanatory power of this correlation. After all, the vast majority of males with high testosterone levels never engage in serious violence. Likewise, the overwhelming majority of women experience their menstruation cycle every month and never engage in aggressive behaviour. Future research, therefore, must better identify under what circumstances hormonal levels may increase the probability of violent behaviour.

Allergies

Allergies refer to reactions of the body to foreign substances (Seigel and McCormick, 2006). Cerebral allergies cause a reaction in the brain. Neuroallergies affect the nervous system. Both cerebral allergies and neuroallergies have been linked to mental, emotional, and behavioural problems. A growing body of research suggests that there is also a link between allergies and depression, hyperactivity, aggressiveness, and violence (Liu and Wuerker, 2005; Raine, 2002; Marshall, 1993). Most cerebral allergies and neuroallergies are caused by exposure to certain types of food – including milk, wheat, eggs, nuts and chocolate. Corn, for example, is a suspected cerebral allergen that has been linked to countries with higher than average homicide rates (Mawson and Jacobs, 1978). The argument is not that allergies directly cause violence. Rather, those suffering from the stress of a painful allergic reaction may be more likely to act violently when presented with negative stimuli.

Exposure to Environmental Contaminants

Sociobiological scholars have also drawn a connection between exposure to dangerous contaminants – including copper, mercury, chlorine, artificial colouring, food dyes, etc. – and both aggressive and anti-social behaviour (see Rappaport, 2004; Ellis, 2005). A great deal of recent research has focused on the possible relationship between lead poisoning and violence. One study, for example, found that communities with the highest concentrations of lead in the air also reported the highest levels of homicide and other forms of violence (Stretesky and Lynch, 2001). A number of studies have also found that lead poisoning is one of the most significant predictors of male delinquency and persistent adult criminality (see Denno, 1996; McCall and Land, 2004). Needleman (1996), for example, tracked several hundred boys from ages seven through eleven and found that those with high concentrations of lead in their bones were much more likely to demonstrate attention deficit problems, poor language skills, delinquency, and aggression. High lead ingestion is also linked to lower IQ scores – a factor that can contribute to youth violence (Neisser et al., 1996).

Neurophysiological Conditions and Crime

Some academics believe that neurological and physical abnormalities acquired early in life – even as early as the fetal stage – impact behaviour throughout the lifespan (see Arseneault et al., 2000; Moffit et al., 1994; Moffit, 1990). Particular focus has been placed on how the impairment of basic brain functions (abstract reasoning, problem-solving skills, motor skills, etc.) may increase the probability of criminal and violent behaviour.

Neurological Impairments and Violence

One of the most important measures of normal neurological functioning is the electroencephalograph (EEG). An EEG refers to the electrical impulses given off by brain waves. These impulses can be recorded by electrodes placed on the scalp (Seigel and McCormick, 2006: 165). Several studies have found that violent criminals – including murderers – have much higher EEG recordings than non-violent criminals have (see review in Rowe, 2001). Furthermore, studies suggest that 50 to 60 per cent of habitually violent adolescents have abnormal EEG readings, compared with only five to fifteen per cent of the general population (Rowe, 2001). Research also suggests that psychiatric patients with EEG abnormalities are highly combative and frequently suffer from periodic manifestations of extreme rage (Rowe, 2001). In some studies, researchers using brainwave data have predicted within 95 per cent accuracy the recidivism of violent offenders (see Yaralian and Raine, 2001). In sum, EEG analysis demonstrates that measures of abnormal brain activity are significantly associated with anti-social and violent behaviour. The exact reason for this association, however, has yet to be discovered.

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) develops when fetuses are exposed to high levels of alcohol in the womb. These children subsequently demonstrate developmental delays and deviant behaviour – including violence. Common cognitive problems associated with FAS include learning difficulties, poor impulse control, a need for immediate gratification, speech problems and the inability to consider the long-term consequences of one's actions. Research also suggests that a high proportion of FAS children ultimately demonstrate aggressive behaviour (see review in Fishbein, 2001).

It is estimated that only one per cent of all children are born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. However, studies also suggest that between 40 and 80 per cent of all children in foster care are stricken with this disability. Studies also estimate that at least half of all young offenders who appear in provincial or territorial courts had mothers who drank heavily during pregnancy (Gideon et al., 2003).

Minimal Brain Dysfunction

Minimal Brain Dysfunction (MBD) is related to abnormalities in cerebral structure. In its most serious form, MDB is associated with severe anti-social behaviour, including hyperactivity, poor attention span, temper tantrums and aggressiveness. MDB has also been linked to episodes of explosive rage and has often been viewed as a significant predictor of both suicide and motiveless homicide. Some studies have found that up to 60 per cent of prison inmates exhibit symptoms of Minimal Brain Dysfunction (Seigel and McCormick, 2006; Monroe, 1978).

Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder

Medical estimates suggest that between three and five per cent of children, most often males, suffer from Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (AD/HD). In fact, AD/HD is the most common reason that children are referred to mental health clinics. The suspected causes of this disability include neurological damage, prenatal stress, food allergies and genetics. Research has also found a strong relationship between AD/HD and poor school performance, bullying, and a lack of response to punishment (Faraone, 1993). There is also a strong association between AD/HD and the early onset of chronic delinquency and persistent violent behaviour (Weiss and Murray, 2003; Moffit and Silva, 1988; Hart et al., 1994).

Brain Injury and Disease

Brain tumours have been linked to severe psychological problems, including hallucinations and psychotic episodes. People with brain tumours are more vulnerable to depression, irritability, temper tantrums and homicidal behaviour. Furthermore, research suggests that normally calm, peaceful individuals can become extremely violent after developing a tumour. When tumours are removed, however, normal behaviour patterns can resume. Studies also indicate that head injuries caused by accidents can dramatically increase violent behaviour and aggressiveness among normally passive individuals (Ellis, 2005). One study of Montreal youth also found that fetal brain damage greatly increased the risk of violence in boys once they reached 16 and 17 years of age (Tremblay et al., 2002). Finally, a wide variety of central nervous system diseases – including epilepsy, cerebral arteriosclerosis, senile dementia and Huntington's chorea – can also lead to affective disturbances, including episodes of rage and anger (Fishbein, 2001; Rowe, 2001).

Brain Chemistry and Violence

Neurotransmitters are chemical compounds that influence brain activity. Research suggests that abnormal levels of some neurotransmitters – including dopamine, serotonin, and monoamine oxidase – are related to aggression and violence. For example, people with a history of impulsive violence often have a reduction in the function of the serotonin system (Badaway, 2003). Studies of habitually violent Finnish offenders, for example, show that low serotonin levels are related to hyperactivity and aggression (Virkkunen et al., 1989). Research also suggests that individuals with a low supply of monoamine oxidase (MAO) are more likely to engage in sensation-seeking activities – including violent behaviour. It is interesting to note that females generally have much higher levels of MAO than males do, a fact that could help explain gender differences in aggression (Huizinga et al., 2006; Ellis, 1991).

Arousal Theory

According to Arousal Theory, peoples' brains function differently in response to environmental input. In general, people attempt to maintain an optimal level of arousal. Too much stimulation causes anxiety and fear, while too little stimulation leads to boredom and depression. However, individuals also differ dramatically with respect to their cognitive ability to process environmental stimuli. In other words, some people feel comfortable with very little stimulation, while others require a high level of environmental input. These "sensation-seekers" or "thrill-seekers" are much more likely to engage in a wide variety of risky activities – including violent behaviour. Unfortunately, all the factors that determine an individual's optimal level of arousal have not yet been determined. Possible sources include brain chemistry (including serotonin levels) and brain structure (see reviews in Raine et al., 1997; Ellis, 2005; Fishbein, 2001; Ellis, 1996).

Genetics and Violence

The first criminologists, including Lombroso, often believed that anti-social behaviour had a genetic basis. In other words, they believed that some people are "born criminals." As discussed above, this early work has been thoroughly discredited by enlightened thinkers. In the 1960s, however, the debate over genetics and violence emerged once again. Much of this revival centred on the famous "XYY" controversy. XY is the normal chromosomal pattern for males. However, some males in the general population have an extra Y chromosome. Many came to believe that these XYY males were much more aggressive than "normal" males and often engaged in serious violence – including homicide. This led to suggestions that XYY males should be identified at birth and thoroughly monitored by the state in order to prevent violence. However, research eventually found that most violent offenders – including the majority of serial killers – did not have an extra Y chromosome. Interest in XYY theory subsequently diminished (Sarbin and Miller, 1970). Nonetheless, a number of contemporary scholars remain highly interested in genetics. Some biosocial theorists, for example, have gone so far as to state that certain violent personality traits – including psychopathy – may be inherited (Carey and DiLalla, 1994).

Twin studies have become one of the most popular methods for examining a possible genetic basis for aggression. If inherited traits actually cause behaviour, twins should be quite similar in their propensity for violence. However, since twins are most often brought up in the same social environment, determining whether their behaviour is the product of biology or social conditions is quite difficult to determine. Researchers have tried to overcome this obstacle by comparing identical (MZ) twins with fraternal (DZ) twins of the same gender. MZ twins are genetically identical, while fraternal twins only share half their genes. Thus, if genes actually impact aggression, identical twins should be more similar in their violent behaviour than fraternal twins are. A number of studies have produced findings that are consistent with this hypothesis (Seigel and McCormick, 2006; Rowe, 1986). Mednick and Christiansen (1977), for example, studied over 3,000 twin pairs and found a 52 per cent correspondence in the aggressive behaviour of identical twins, compared with a correspondence rate of only 22 per cent for fraternal twins. Other researchers have concluded that people who share genes also share similar personality traits, regardless of the social environment in which they were raised (100). This has led some biosocial experts to conclude that identical twins may share genetic characteristics that increase – or decrease – their probability of engaging in violent and/or criminal behaviour (see Rowe, 1995).

Other studies, however, have found very little evidence that identical twins are more similar in criminal behaviour than fraternal twins or non-twin siblings are. The authors of these reports maintain that siblings often share similar social environments and that it is the social environment, not genes, that produces similarities in violent behaviour (Carey, 1992). Contagion theory, for example, holds that siblings, especially twins, often behave in a similar fashion because they are raised in the same families and are exposed to the same social and economic conditions. Furthermore, most siblings, especially twins, develop a close emotional relationship and frequently develop similar interests. Thus, because of their emotional closeness, twins are more likely to influence each other's behaviours than other siblings are. This hypothesis is also supported by research that suggests that identical twins behave more similarly in early childhood and as adults than they do during adolescence. During adolescence, youth often try to break away from the family and establish their own identities. This explains why, during the teenage years, youth are more influenced by their peers than by family members (Jones and Jones, 2000; Fishbein, 2001).

Nonetheless, support for a genetic explanation for violence has also received some support from adoption studies. Logic holds that genetic explanations for crime would be supported when a young person's behaviour is more similar to that of the biological parents than it is to that of the adoptive parents. On the other hand, social explanations would be supported when a young person's behaviour is more similar to that of the adoptive parents than it is to that of the biological parents. A number of European studies have found that the criminality of biological parents is a significant predictor of youth violence, even after controlling for the behaviour of adoptive parents and other environmental variables. However, the evidence also suggests that the social environment found in the adoptive home has a very significant impact. For example, rates of violence are lowest when both biological and adoptive parents are non-violent. However, rates of violence among adopted youth increase when *either* the biological or the adoptive parents have histories of violent behaviour. Finally, the highest levels of violence among adopted children are produced when *both* the biological and adoptive parents have a criminal past (Walters, 1992). Such findings indicate that genetic and social conditions may interact in complex ways to either increase or decrease the probability of violence and criminal behaviour.

Evolution and Violence

The final biosocial theory to consider is based on ideas about human evolution. Experts in this field argue that, as human beings evolved, certain traits, emotions and characteristics became genetically ingrained. Jealousy, for example, is a human emotion that may have evolved in order to keep families together and increase the probability of reproduction (see Seigel and McCormick, 2006).

Evolutionary theory has most often been used to explain gender differences in both violent behaviour and sexual activity. According to some evolutionary theorists, in order to ensure their genetic legacy, it is advantageous for males to mate with as many females as possible. On the other hand, because of the physical toll of a long gestation period, it is advantageous for females to mate with only a few males – especially those who are thought to be nurturing or carry the best genetic material. Because of these different mating strategies, it has been argued that the most aggressive males have historically been able to mate with the largest number of women. From an evolutionary perspective, violence is thought to have developed as a male reproductive strategy because it can: 1) eliminate or deter genetic competition (i.e., prevent rival males from getting the opportunity to mate); 2) serve as a method for displaying physical strength (genetic superiority) and attracting females; and 3) deter females from leaving and mating with other males. In our distant past, therefore, male aggression may have frequently led to reproductive success. If so, aggressive traits would be more likely than passive traits to be passed on to the next generation of males. Thus, it is often assumed by biosocial experts that the descendants of aggressive males account for the fact that, even in modern society, men continue to be more violent than women (Ellis and Walsh, 1997).

It should be noted that other much more theoretically complex versions of evolutionary theory have emerged in recent years (see Seigel and McCormick, 2006, for example, for a detailed discussion of R/K Selection Theory and Cheater Theory). Nonetheless, at the core of all evolutionary theories is the idea that violent, aggressive behaviour has been maintained within human cultures because it has proven to be a successful reproductive strategy – especially for males.

Critique

Biosocial theorists face a number of serious criticisms (Englander, 2007; Walters and White, 1989; Ellis, 2005; Fishbein, 2001; Seigel and McCormick, 2006). First of all, biosocial research is often fraught with methodological problems. Many studies, for example, are based on small, unrepresentative samples and do not adequately control for the impact of social variables. Biosocial theories also fail to explain regional and temporal differences in violent crime rates. For example, biosocial theories cannot begin to address why the Western Canadian provinces have much higher homicide rates than the Eastern provinces. Nor can they address why the United States has a much higher rate of violent crime than that of Canada or most European countries. Furthermore, biosocial theories cannot totally account for changes in violent behaviour over time. For example, in North America, the violent crime rate increased significantly between the 1950s and 1990s. Starting in the 1990s, however, the violent crime rate began to decline. How can sociobiological theories – by themselves – account for such significant geographical and longitudinal changes? Are people in British Columbia genetically different from people in Nova Scotia? Did the basic biological makeup of human beings change between the 1990s and the 1950s?

Some biosocial criminologists have also been accused of racial and class bias (Roberts and Gabor, 1990). If, for example, biology can explain violent crime, and poor people and racial minorities commit a disproportionate number of violent acts, then by implication these types of people are inherently inferior or flawed. Critics argue that it would be much more productive – and empirically accurate – to focus on the social factors (oppression, racism, social exclusion, economic strain, etc.) that produce racial and class differences in violent behaviour than to spend our efforts trying to uncover the genetic basis for criminality. Such scholars, however, warn that biosocial theories may be attractive to some because they can be used to justify social inequality and deflect attention from crime prevention efforts that might challenge the status quo.

Policy Implications

A number of biologically based medical treatments or interventions have been used to treat violent offenders (see Englander, 2007; Ellis, 2005). Prevention programs, for example, have sometimes focused on improving the diets of at-risk youth. Other initiatives have treated specific allergies. Neurosurgery has also been used to remove brain tumours and correct abnormal neurophysiological conditions associated with aggression. However, the most common strategies for dealing with the biological determinants of violent behaviour involve the administration of prescription drugs. Drugs that decrease testosterone levels or increase levels of female sex hormones, for example, have been used to treat violent sexual offenders. Chemical castration has also been used in the United States to diminish the threats posed by chronic pedophiles. Similarly, the most common treatment for AD/HD involves the administration of stimulants – including Ritalin and Dexedrine – that help control emotional or violent episodes. Violence-prone individuals have also been treated with anti-psychotic drugs that help control neurotransmitter levels. Finally, narcotics are sometimes used to produce an elevated mood state in those with high arousal levels.

A number of criminologists maintain that biologically oriented treatments are the best strategy for dealing with chronic, lifetime-persistent offenders. To support their argument, they often point to the fact that, once their genetic codes were broken, a number of inherited traits that cause disease have been successfully treated with medication. Can the same types of solutions, they ask, be used to deal with violence? The potential of a genes-violence relationship is by far the most controversial issue facing biosocial criminologists. After all, such a relationship would suggest that violent propensities are present at birth and cannot be altered. It thus raises a number of important moral issues. For example, if genetic testing could identify a "violence gene," should fetuses with this gene be aborted? Similarly, if we can identify biological markers that increase the risk of violence, should individuals with these traits be subject to greater surveillance by the criminal justice system? Fortunately, these are not issues we have to deal with in this report. Biosocial theorists are nowhere close to proving a genetic basis for crime – and many criminologists believe they never will be.

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Chapter 2:

Psychological Theories

The issue of human violence is also a major topic within the academic discipline of psychology. As biosocial theorists do, psychologists focus on how individual characteristics may interact with the social environment to produce a violent event. However, rather than focus on the biological basis of crime, psychologists focus on how mental processes impact individual propensities for violence. Psychologists are often interested in the association between learning, intelligence, and personality and aggressive behaviour. In this section of the report, we briefly review some of the major psychological perspectives that have attempted to explain violent behaviour. These perspectives include the psychodynamic perspective, behavioural theory, cognitive theory and personality theory. We will also explore the possible relationship between mental illness and violence.

The Psychodynamic Perspective

The psychodynamic perspective is largely based on the groundbreaking ideas of Sigmund Freud. A detailed discussion of Freud's theory of psychoanalysis is beyond the scope of this report. It is sufficient to note that Freud thought that human behaviour, including violent behaviour, was the product of "unconscious" forces operating within a person's mind. Freud also felt that early childhood experiences had a profound impact on adolescent and adult behaviour. Freud, for example, believed that conflicts that occur at various psychosexual stages of development might impact an individual's ability to operate normally as an adult (Bartol, 2002). For Freud, aggression was thus a basic (id-based) human impulse that is repressed in well-adjusted people who have experienced a normal childhood. However, if the aggressive impulse is not controlled, or is repressed to an unusual degree, some aggression can "leak out" of the unconscious and a person can engage in random acts of violence. Freud referred to this as "displaced aggression" (see Englander, 2007; Bartol, 2002).

It is interesting to note that Freud himself did not theorize much about crime or violence. The psychoanalyst who is perhaps most closely associated with the study of criminality is August Aichorn. Unlike many of the sociologists of his day, Aichorn felt that exposure to stressful social environments did not automatically produce crime or violence. After all, most people are exposed to extreme stress and do not engage in serious forms of criminality. Aichorn felt that stress only produced crime in those who had a particular mental state known as *latent delinquency*. Latent delinquency, according to Aichorn, results from inadequate childhood socialization and manifests itself in the need for immediate gratification (impulsivity), a lack of empathy for others, and the inability to feel guilt (Aichorn, 1935).

Since Aichorn's early work, psychoanalysts have come to view violent criminals as "id-dominated" individuals who are unable to control their impulsive, pleasure-seeking drives (Toch, 1979). Often because of childhood neglect or abuse, violence-prone individuals suffer from weak or damaged "egos" that render them unable to deal with stressful circumstances within conventional society. It is also argued that youth with weak egos are immature and easily led into crime and violence by deviant peers (Andrews and Bonta, 1994). In their most extreme form, underdeveloped egos (or superegos) can lead to "psychosis" and the inability to feel sympathy for the victims of crime (see DiNapoli, 2002; Seigel and McCormick, 2006). In sum, psychodynamic theories depict the violent offender as an impulsive, easily frustrated person who is dominated by events or issues that occurred in early childhood.

The most significant criticism of the psychoanalytic perspective is that it is based on information derived from therapists' subjective interpretations of interviews with a very small number of patients (see Englander, 2007). In other words, the theory has not yet been subject to rigorous scientific verification. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that basic psychodynamic principles have had a major impact on the subsequent development of criminological thought. For example, many other theories of violence have come to stress the importance of the family and early childhood experiences. Similarly, a number of sociological and criminological theories stress that violent criminals are impulsive and lack empathy for others (see the discussion of self-control theory below). Many of these theories are discussed in upcoming sections of this report.

Behavioural Theories

Behaviour theory maintains that all human behaviour – including violent behaviour – is learned through interaction with the social environment. Behaviourists argue that people are not born with a violent disposition. Rather, they learn to think and act violently as a result of their day-to-day experiences (Bandura, 1977). These experiences, proponents of the behaviourist tradition maintain, might include observing friends or family being rewarded for violent behaviour, or even observing the glorification of violence in the media. Studies of family life, for example, show that aggressive children often model the violent behaviours of their parents. Studies have also found that people who live in violent communities learn to model the aggressive behaviour of their neighbours (Bartol, 2002).

Behavioural theorists have argued that the following four factors help produce violence: 1) a stressful event or stimulus – like a threat, challenge or assault – that heightens arousal; 2) aggressive skills or techniques learned through observing others; 3) a belief that aggression or violence will be socially rewarded (by, for example, reducing frustration, enhancing self-esteem, providing material goods or earning the praise of other people); and 4) a value system that condones violent acts within certain social contexts. Early empirical tests of these four principles were promising (Bartol, 2002). As a result, behavioural theory directly contributed to the development of social learning theories of deviance (differential association theory, sub-cultural theory, neutralization theory, etc.). These theories, among the most important and influential of all criminological theories, are subject to a detailed discussion in the section of this report entitled *Social Learning and Violence* (see below).

Cognitive Development and Violence

Cognitive theorists focus on how people perceive their social environment and learn to solve problems. The moral and intellectual development perspective is the branch of cognitive theory that is most associated with the study of crime and violence. Piaget (1932) was one of the first psychologists to argue that people's reasoning abilities develop in an orderly and logical fashion. He argued that, during the first stage of development (the sensor-motor stage), children respond to their social environment in a simple fashion by focusing their attention on interesting objects and developing their motor skills. By the final stage of the development (the formal operations stage), children have developed into mature adults who are capable of complex reasoning and abstract thought.

Kohlberg (1969) applied the concept of moral development to the study of criminal behaviour. He argued that all people travel through six different stages of moral development. At the first stage, people only obey the law because they are afraid of punishment. By the sixth stage, however, people obey the law because it is an assumed obligation and because they believe in the universal principles of justice, equity, and respect for others. In his research, Kohlberg found that violent youth were significantly lower in their moral development than non-violent youth – even after controlling for social background (Kohlberg et al., 1973). Since his pioneering efforts, studies have consistently found that people who obey the law simply to avoid punishment (i.e., out of self-interest) are more likely to commit acts of violence than are people who recognize and sympathize with the fundamental rights of others. Higher levels of moral reasoning, on the other hand, are associated with acts of altruism, generosity and non-violence (Veneziano and Veneziano, 1992). In sum, the weight of the evidence suggests that people with lower levels of moral reasoning will engage in crime and violence when they think they can get away with it. On the other hand, even when presented with the opportunity, people with higher levels of moral reasoning will refrain from criminal behaviour because they think it is wrong.

Another area of cognitive theory that has received considerable attention from violence researchers involves the study of information processing. Psychological research suggests that when people make decisions, they engage in a series of complex thought processes. First they encode and interpret the information or stimuli they are presented with, then they search for a proper response or appropriate action, and finally, they act on their decision (Dodge, 1986). According to information processing theorists, violent individuals may be using information incorrectly when they make their decisions. Violence-prone youth, for example, may see people as more threatening or aggressive than they actually are. This may cause some youth to react with violence at the slightest provocation. According to this perspective, aggressive children are more vigilant and suspicious than normal youth are – a factor that greatly increases their likelihood of engaging in violent behaviour. Consistent with this perspective, research suggests that some youth who engage in violent attacks on others actually believe that they are defending themselves, even when they have totally misinterpreted the level of threat (Lochman, 1987). Recent research also indicates that male rapists often have little sympathy for their own victims, but do in fact empathize with the female victims of other sexual offenders. This finding suggests that, because of information processing issues, some offenders can't recognize the harm they are doing to others (Langton and Marshall, 2001; Lipton et al., 1987).

Personality and Violence

The psychological concept of "personality" has been defined as stable patterns of behaviour, thoughts or actions that distinguish one person from another (see Seigel and McCormick, 2006: 180). A number of early criminologists argued that certain personality types are more prone to criminal behaviour. The Gluecks (Glueck and Glueck, 1950), for example, identified a number of personality traits that they felt were associated with violence, including self-assertiveness, defiance, extroversion, narcissism and suspicion. More recently, researchers have linked violent behaviours to traits such as hostility, egoism, self-centredness, spitefulness, jealousy, and indifference to or lack of empathy for others. Criminals have also been found to lack ambition and perseverance, to have difficulty controlling their tempers and other impulses, and to be more likely than conventional people are to hold unconventional beliefs (see Atkins, 2007; Capara et al., 2007; Costello and Dunaway 2003; Johnson et al., 2000; Sutherland and Shepard, 2002; Miller and Lynam, 2001).

The Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) have frequently been used to assess the personality characteristics of young people. The use of these scales has consistently produced a statistically significant relationship between certain personality characteristics and criminal behaviour. Adolescents who are prone to violence typically respond to frustrating events or situations with strong negative emotions. They often feel stressed, anxious and irritable in the face of adverse social conditions. Psychological testing also suggests that crime-prone youth are also impulsive, paranoid, aggressive, hostile, and quick to take action against perceived threats (Avshalom et al., 1994).

There is considerable debate about the causal direction of the personality-violence association. On the one hand, some scholars have argued that there is a direct causal link between certain personality traits and criminal behaviour. However, others maintain that personality characteristics interact with other factors to produce crime and violence. For example, defiant, impulsive youth often have less-than-stellar educational and work histories. Poor education and employment histories subsequently block opportunities for economic success. These blocked opportunities, in turn, lead to frustration, deprivation, and ultimately, criminal activity (Miller and Lynam, 2001).

Psychopathy and Violence

Research suggests that some serious violent offenders may have a serious personality defect commonly known as psychopathy, sociopathy or anti-social personality disorder. Psychopaths are impulsive, have low levels of guilt and frequently violate the rights of others. They have been described as egocentric, manipulative, cold-hearted, forceful, and incapable of feeling anxiety or remorse over their violent actions. Psychopaths are also said to be able to justify their actions to themselves so that they always appear to be reasonable and justified.

Considering these negative personality traits, it is perhaps not surprising that recent studies show that psychopaths are significantly more prone to violence compared with the normal population. Furthermore, the research evidence also suggests that psychopaths often continue with their criminal careers long after others have aged out of crime. It has been estimated that approximately 30 per cent of all prison inmates in the United States are psychopaths. More recent projections, however, place this estimate closer to ten per cent. However, psychopaths are particularly over-represented among chronic offenders. Indeed, it is estimated that up to 80 per cent of chronic offenders exhibit psychopathic personalities. In sum, research suggests that psychopaths have a significantly higher likelihood of violence than others do. However, experts also stress that not all psychopaths become violent. In fact, the majority of people convicted of violent crimes in Canada and the US do not have a psychopathic personality (see reviews in Edens et al., 2001; Lykken, 1996).

A recent meta-analysis conducted by Edens and his colleagues (2007) summarizes juvenile recidivism data in relation to psychopathology. The authors searched and coded both published and unpublished studies completed between 1990 and 2005. The studies they reviewed include an even split between American and Canadian samples (with one additional sample from Sweden). The results of their ambitious project reveal that a juvenile diagnosis for psychopathy is a strong predictor of future violence in adulthood. The findings further demonstrate that psychopathy is significantly related to both general and violent recidivism, but only weakly associated with sexual recidivism. Interestingly, the data also reveal that psychopathy is a weaker predictor of violent recidivism among more racially diverse samples.

Psychologists think that a number of early childhood factors might contribute to the development of a psychopathic or sociopathic personality. These factors include having an emotionally unstable parent, parental rejection, lack of love during childhood and inconsistent discipline. Young children – in the first three years of life – who do not have the opportunity to emotionally bond with their mothers, experience a sudden separation from their mothers, or see changes in their mother figures are at particularly high risk of developing a psychopathic personality.

Intelligence and Violence

Another major area of psychological inquiry involves the possible relationship between intelligence and crime. Criminologists working in the early 20th century often argued that intelligence is strongly associated with criminal behaviour. People with low intelligence, they argued, were much more likely to engage in crime and violence than people with high intelligence were. Support for this hypothesis was garnered from studies that directly compared the IQ scores of adolescents with IQ scores derived from the general population. In general, these pioneering studies reported that the IQ scores of delinquents were significantly lower than the IQ scores of normal controls (Goddard, 1920; Healy and Bronner, 1926).

Simplistic notions that low intelligence causes crime and delinquency often led to disastrous results. For example, in the 1920s, the governments of British Columbia and Alberta passed "negative eugenics" laws that called for the sterilization of people thought to possess low intelligence or other negative psychological characteristics. It is important note that, but for the disapproval of the Catholic church, such sterilization laws would also have come into effect in both Ontario and Quebec. Under such laws, which remained in effect until the 1970s, over 5,000 people in Canada were approved for sterilization. Most of these people were arbitrarily diagnosed as having "mental defects." Finally, in 1999, the courts decided that the Alberta and BC governments had acted falsely and victims subsequently agreed to an $82 million settlement (see Seigel and McCormick, 2006: 183).

The Nature-Nurture Debate

Much of the early work on the link between IQ and crime has been dismissed as overly simplistic and as unsubstantiated owing to poor research designs. However, the issue of a possible association between intelligence and violence has persisted into this century. Much of the contemporary debate centres on whether intelligence is biologically based or the product of environmental conditions. Nature theory holds that intelligence is genetically determined and that low IQ directly causes violent and criminal behaviour. Nurture theorists, on the other hand, argue that intelligence is determined by the quality of the social environment – particularly during childhood – and is not a product of genetic inheritance. Intelligence, they maintain, is largely determined by the quality of the parental bond, the level of intellectual stimulation received during early childhood, the nature of local peer-group relations, and the quality of neighbourhood schools. Therefore, nature theorists argue that, if IQ scores are indeed lower among violent criminals, this likely reflects differences in environmental or cultural background, not differences in biological makeup (Rogers et al., 2000).

Nature theory also came under attack in the late 1920s and early 1930s when new studies determined that the IQ-crime relationship was not as strong as initially expected. For example, Slawson (1926) found that although adolescent offenders tended to score lower on verbal intelligence tests, they had normal scores on measures of nonverbal intelligence. These results highlighted the possibility that IQ tests may be culturally biased. Similarly, Edwin Sutherland, one of the founding fathers of modern criminology, provided evidence that observed differences in IQ scores often stemmed from problems with testing methods rather than actual differences in intelligence (Sutherland, 1931). After being condemned by Sutherland as an unproductive line of inquiry, research on the IQ-crime relationship disappeared from the criminological literature for several decades.

The Re-emergence of the IQ-Violence Debate

In a controversial article that appeared in the late 1970s, Travis Hirschi and Michael Hindelang reviewed existing data on the intelligence-crime relationship and concluded that IQ is a stronger predictor of crime and violence than many other demographic characteristics are – including social class (see Hirschi and Hindelang, 1997). Since the appearance of this article, a large number of other international studies have emerged that the support the existence of the IQ-violence relationship (Piquero, 2000; Lynam et al., 1993; Denno, 1985). Many of these studies, however, suggest that the IQ-crime relationship is quite weak. For example, an extensive review by the American Psychological Association found only a small relationship between intelligence and criminal behaviour. By contrast, in *The Bell Curve,* James Q. Wilson and Charles Murray (1994) conclude, after an extensive review of the research evidence, that there is a very strong correlation between IQ and crime and that people with low IQs are more likely to commit crimes, get caught, and be sent to prison. Similarly, a recent study by Piquero (2000) found that low scores on intelligence tests were among the strongest predictors of violent behaviour and could be used to distinguish between violent and non-violent offenders.

While some scholars maintain that there is a direct link between intelligence and criminality, others believe that there is only an indirect association. Some argue, for example, that low intelligence leads to poor school performance. Poor school performance, in turn, directly contributes to criminal behaviour. Wilson and Hernstein summarize this argument when they state that "[a] child who chronically loses standing in the competition of the classroom may feel justified in settling the score outside, by violence, theft and other forms of defiant illegality" (Wilson and Herstein, 1985: 148). Critics have responded to this position by maintaining that there are many other factors, besides intelligence, that contribute to success in school. These factors include family support for academic achievement, the quality of teachers and the school environment, the nature of the curriculum, and the degree of student engagement.

The debate over the exact nature of the intelligence-crime relationship is nowhere near to being solved. Most experts agree, for example, that the measurement of IQ is extremely problematic. Furthermore, the distinct possibility that IQ tests are both culturally biased and class-biased greatly undermines the validity of previous research. Finally, even if we accept previous research results at face value, intelligence-based explanations cannot begin to explain major patterns of criminal behaviour. IQ scores, for example, do not come close to explaining why men are much more violent than women. Similarly, people do not become more intelligent as they age. Thus, IQ-based theories cannot account for the fact that most offenders age out of crime and violence (see Seigel and McCormick, 2006).

Mental Illness and Violence

A recent survey of more than 6,000 respondents from 14 countries found that approximately ten per cent of the adult population suffers from some form of mental illness – ranging from depression to schizophrenia (Seigel and McCormick, 2006). Rates of mental illness may be even higher among youth. For example, one study found that one in five children and adolescents residing in Ontario suffer from a significant mental health disorder.[1] Leschied (2007) notes that cross-national research has also documented a 20 per cent mental illness rate among children between zero and 16 years of age. The most common disorders among youth include depression, substance abuse and conduct disorder (Osenblatt, 2001). Research also suggests that mental health issues may put young people at risk of engaging in violent behaviour. For example, after an extensive review of the literature, Monohan (2000: 112) noted that "[n]o matter how many social and demographic factors are statistically taken into account, there appears to be a greater than chance relationship between mental disorder and violent behaviour. Mental disorder is a statistically significant risk factor for the occurrence of violence."

Research suggests that depression, a relatively common disorder among youth, may be related to aggression. For example, one recent study documented that affective disorders are related to aggression at both home and school. This study is important because other studies have found a link between depression and both property crime and substance use, but not violence (see Englander, 2007). However, the authors of this study do note that they only focused on minor forms of aggression, not serious violence (Pliszka et al., 2000). Interestingly, a number of studies have found that while minor depression is related to an increased probability of minor criminality, major bipolar depression is not at all related to serious violent behaviour. Indeed, major depression may be too crippling a disorder to permit someone to form intent and act out in a violent manner (see Modestin et al., 1997). Similarly, some experts have suggested that youth suffering from affective disorders are actually more likely to withdraw and harm themselves than to act violently towards others (Hillbrand, 1994).

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[1] *A "significant" mental health disorder was defined as a condition that is serious enough to warrant outside intervention.*

Additional research suggests that particular types of mental illness – including schizophrenia – are more associated with violent behaviour than others are (see Lescheid, 2007). For example, people who suffer from paranoid delusions that others are trying to harm them, or feel that their minds are being controlled by outside forces, are more vulnerable to periodic episodes of rage and violence than are those who do not have these symptoms (Monahan, 1996; Berenbaun and Fujita, 1994). Studies have also found that up to 75 of juvenile murderers suffer from some form of mental illness – including psychopathy and schizophrenia (Rosner, 1979; Sorrells, 1977). Another study followed 1,000 English children from birth to their 21st birthday and found that only two per cent of the sample met the DSM-III diagnostic criteria for mental illness. However, this two per cent was responsible for 50 per cent of the violent incidents that were documented during the study period (see Arsenault et al., 2000).

In sum, research gives tentative support for the idea that mental disturbance or illness may be a root or underlying cause of violent behaviour. It is extremely important to note, however, that some scholars suggest that this relationship may be spurious. In other words, the same social conditions that produce violent behaviour – including parental neglect, child abuse, violent victimization, racism, peer pressure and poverty – may also cause mental illness (for discussions about the co-morbidity of violence and mental illness see Durant et al., 2007; Leischied, 2007). Studies also suggest that most people with severe mental illnesses do not engage in serious violence or criminality (Cirincione et al., 1991). It is also interesting to observe that, at the societal level, rates of violent crime have actually decreased at the same time that mentally ill populations have been de-institutionalized.

A Note on Substance Abuse and Violence

Substance abuse – including alcoholism – has now been formally recognized as a mental illness. Research has also established that there is a strong positive correlation between levels of substance abuse and violence. For example, a Corrections Canada survey of over 6,000 inmates, many of them violent offenders, found that 48 per cent admitted to using illegal drugs at the time of their offence (Seigel and McCormick, 2006). Similarly, a recent US study found that over 80 per cent of people arrested for violent crimes tested positive for illegal drugs at the time of their apprehension (Feutcht, 1996). Furthermore, numerous cross-national surveys of prison inmates reveal that the vast majority were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time of their offence (Innes, 1988).

It is hypothesized that alcohol and drugs can impact violence in three ways. First of all, alcohol and drugs may have psychopharmacological effects that impair cognition and subsequently increase the likelihood of aggressive behaviour. Many have argued, for example, that the physiological impact of substance use serves to reduce social inhibitions and thus frees or enables people to act on their violent impulses. Others, however, have argued that this "disinhibition effect" is culturally specific. Anthropologists have shown, for example, that the social effects of alcohol vary dramatically from country to country. In some nations, alcohol intoxication is related to violence, in others it is not. Is it possible that the effect of alcohol and drugs are socially defined? In some societies, people may come to believe that there is a strong relationship between intoxication and violence. If so, some people may come to use alcohol and drugs as an excuse or justification for their violent behaviour. Studies do suggest that people are more forgiving of people who engage in violent acts while intoxicated and are less forgiving of people who engage in violence while sober (see review in White, 2004).

A second way that substance abuse may increase violence is by increasing economic need. Many drug addicts, for example, engage in violent crimes (including robbery) in order to gain enough money to support their habits. Violence is also related to competition between drug traffickers. Indeed, any lucrative drug trade may attract ruthless individuals and gangs who are willing to resort to violence in order to control markets (territories) or ensure the repayment of drug debts. Drug traffickers may also draw the attention of other predatory criminals who specifically target them for robbery because they carry large volumes of cash (and drugs) and cannot report their victimization to the police (Wortley and Tanner, 2007).

Policy Implications

Over the past 100 years, psychological perspectives on violence have had a major impact on crime control and crime prevention policy. Primary prevention programs that employ psychological principles include strategies that seek to identify and treat personal problems and disorders before they translate into criminal behaviour. Organizations involved in such primary prevention efforts include family therapy centres, mental health associations, school counselling programs and substance abuse clinics. School administrators, teachers, social workers, youth courts and employers frequently make referrals to these programs. Many argue that the expansion of such psychological services will ultimately reduce the level of violent crime in society (Seigel and McCormick, 2006).

Secondary prevention efforts, on the other hand, provide psychological treatment after a crime has been committed and the offender has become involved in the criminal justice system. Many of these programs are based on social learning principles. Judges often recommend them at the sentencing stage. Furthermore, once inmates enter a correctional facility, they are likely to be subjected to intense psychological assessment to determine their treatment needs. Attendance at such programs may also be a mandatory requirement of probation or parole. Examples of popular psychologically based rehabilitation strategies in Canada include treatment programs for substance abuse, sex offender treatment, anger management training and programs designed to improve cognitive skills (Griffiths and Cunningham, 2000). Over the past few decades, considerable debate has emerged with respect to the relative effectiveness of rehabilitative efforts within corrections. In fact, some critics maintain that "nothing works" with respect to the rehabilitation of chronic offenders (Griffiths and Cunningham, 2000). This issue is subject to a detailed discussion in another report commissioned by the Review of the Roots of Youth Violence.

In sum, as with biosocial theories of crime causation, psychological theories focus on the identification and treatment of individual traits that may predispose people to violent behaviour. As such, psychological theorists have been charged with ignoring larger social forces – including poverty, social inequality, neighbourhood disorganization and racism – that may have a strong impact on violent behaviour. Such factors, however, have been considered by a wide variety of sociological and criminological perspectives on crime. We begin our discussion of these theories in the next section of this report.

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Chapter 3:

Rational Choice And Routine Activities Theory[2]

This section of the report looks at rational choice theory and one of its subsidiaries, routine activities theory. The discussion will commence with an explanation of each of the theoretical perspectives. The research literature is then reviewed, exploring the applicability and limitations of the perspectives. This is followed by a brief consideration of potential policy implications.

Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory is based on the fundamental tenets of classical criminology, which hold that people freely choose their behaviour and are motivated by the avoidance of pain and the pursuit of pleasure. Individuals evaluate their choice of actions in accordance with each option's ability to produce advantage, pleasure and happiness. Rational choice provides a micro perspective on why individual offenders decide to commit specific crimes; people choose to engage in crime because it can be rewarding, easy, satisfying and fun. The central premise of this theory is that people are rational beings whose behaviour can be controlled or modified by a fear of punishment. In this way, it is believed offenders can be persuaded to desist from offending by intensifying their fear of punishment. In terms of setting the quantum of punishment, according to this theory, sanctions should be limited to what is necessary to deter people from choosing crime (Siegel and McCormick, 2006).

Rational choice is premised on a utilitarian belief that actions are based on a conscious evaluation of the utility of acting in a certain way. This perspective assumes that crime is a personal choice, the result of individual decision-making processes. This means that individuals are responsible for their choices and thus individual offenders are subject to blame for their criminality. In terms of offending, rational choice posits that offenders weigh the potential benefits and consequences associated with committing an offence and then make a rational choice on the basis of this evaluation. Therefore, before committing a crime, the reasoning criminal weighs the chances of getting caught, the severity of the expected penalty and the value to be gained by committing the act. This means that if offenders perceive the costs to be too high, the act to be too risky, or the payoff to be too small, they will choose to not engage in the act.

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[2] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Nicole Myers, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

The tenets of this theory are based on a number of assumptions about the decision-making process and behavioural motivations. It is held that people decide to commit crime after careful consideration of the costs and benefits of behaving in a certain manner. This involves considering both personal factors, which may include a need for money, revenge, or entertainment, and situational factors such as the target/victim's vulnerability and the presence of witnesses, guardians, or the police. Rational choice focuses on the opportunity to commit crime and on how criminal choices are structured by the social environment and situational variables.

Routine Activities Theory

Routine activities theory is a subsidiary of rational choice theory. Developed by Cohen and Felson (1979), routine activities theory requires three elements be present for a crime to occur: a motivated offender with criminal intentions and the ability to act on these inclinations, a suitable victim or target, and the absence of a capable guardian who can prevent the crime from happening. These three elements must converge in time and space for a crime to occur.

Routine activities theory provides a macro perspective on crime in that it predicts how changes in social and economic conditions influence the overall crime and victimization rate. Felson and Cohen (1980) postulate that criminal activities are a "structurally significant phenomenon," meaning that violations are neither random nor trivial events (390). In consequence, it is the routine of activities people partake in over the course of their day and night lives that makes some individuals more susceptible to being viewed as suitable targets by a rationally calculating offender. Routine activities theory relates the pattern of offending to the everyday patterns of social interaction. Crime is therefore normal and is dependent on available opportunities to offend. If there is an unprotected target and there are sufficient rewards, a motivated offender will commit a crime.

In terms of suitable targets, the choice is influenced by the offender's perception of the target's vulnerability; the more suitable and accessible the target, the more likely that a crime will occur. The number of motivated criminals in the population also affects crime levels. It is held that offenders are less likely to commit crimes if they can achieve personal goals through legitimate means. This implies that criminal motivations can be reduced if offenders perceive that there are alternatives to crime.

The presence of capable guardians is also held to deter individuals from offending. Guardianship can be the physical presence of a person who is able to act in a protective manner or in the form of more passive mechanical devices such as video surveillance or security systems. These physical security measures help limit an offender's access to suitable targets. The essential aspect of routine activities theory is the interaction of motivation, opportunity and targets. In this way, the presence of guardians will deter most offenders, rendering even attractive targets off limits. Therefore, the presence of opportunity coupled with a lack of guardianship increases criminal motivations and the likelihood of an offence taking place.

Empirical Research on Rational Choice Perspectives

Rational Choice

There is some research that supports the rational nature of crime. This support, however, is confined primarily to instrumental crimes, such as property and drug offences. These offences are generally crimes of opportunity. In this way, if offenders come across an opportunity to commit an offence, but perceive a high likelihood of capture, they will likely refrain from partaking in the activity. Property offenders tend to stay away from locations that are occupied, have security measures, or are in areas where neighbours look out for one another. Conversely, property offenders are enticed by unlocked doors and windows, secluded areas and unsupervised property. Similarly, it appears that drug dealers tailor their transactions in a similar fashion, as they tend to work in locations where they are able to clearly see anyone approaching and where there is an insignificant presence of watchful guardians.

In terms of common street crime, it was found by Clarke and Harris (1992) that auto thieves are selective in their choice of targets, selecting different types of vehicles depending on the purpose of the theft. This suggests that the decision with respect to a target and opportunity is rationally motivated. This rationale of decision-making is also found to hold true for sex-trade workers. Maher (1996) suggests that women rationally choose whom to solicit, whom to engage with and what risks they are willing to take to fulfill an interaction. For substance offenders, the decision to use has been reported as being related to the benefits associated with use. Specifically, according to Petraitis et al. (1995), this means the benefits of consuming illegal substances outweighing the potential costs associated with use. In terms of the distribution of drugs, MacCoun and Reuter (1992) found it to be related to the economics of the trade; drug dealers often cite the desire for a supplementary income as a prime motivator for getting involved in the drug trade.

Matsueda et al. (2006) also found that acts of violence and theft conform to a rational choice model. Perceived risk is formed in part by information gleaned from informal peer groups, as well as from direct experience with the legal system. Social status within groups, as indicated by the importance of being seen as "cool," is a key component of the decision to offend. Theft and violence are a function of the perceived risk of arrest, subjective psychic rewards (including excitement and social status) and perceived opportunities. The perceived risk of punishment has a small but significant effect. Similarly, Honkatukia et al. (2006) found that anger and feelings of powerlessness influence how rational decisions are made, with violence being used as a means of protecting oneself from violence. The preeminence of instrumental violence, and its use in situations where youth feel they lack power, supports the notion that crime emerges out of a rational thought process.

With respect to violence, it has also been found that perpetrators are selective in their choice of target; they select people who appear vulnerable, without the means to protect themselves. By way of example, Wright and Rosi (1983) found that violent offenders avoid victims who may be armed and dangerous, preferring to select more defenceless victims who are less likely to resist. More recently, Siegel and McCormick (2006) conclude that although some acts of lethal violence are the result of angry aggression, others seem to show signs of rational planning. Therefore, although violent acts appear to be irrational, they do seem to involve some calculations of the risk and rewards (134). Taken together, these studies indicate that there is an element of rationality in the decision to engage in offending behaviour.

Carmichael and Piquero (2004), however, found mixed support for the rational nature of decision-making. They found that individuals who perceive higher informal sanction severity are less likely to report assault intentions, while individuals who perceive a thrill from engaging in the assault are more likely to report assault intentions. The research demonstrates that perceived anger is an important component of decision-making, and that it influences how rational choice considerations are interpreted by would-be offenders. The authors concluded that although rational choice considerations and perceived emotional arousal are both important in this regard, emotional impulses exert particularly strong influences on decision-making.

Further, the rational nature of violent offences was not confirmed by Wright et al. (2006), who found robberies were the source of income for people who lived within a street culture that emphasizes living for an immediate "feel-good" experience, without regard for consequences or long-range planning. These people, who live a lifestyle of desperation, can not afford to pay for the basic necessities of life except by impulsive robberies. These robberies also tend to fit patterns of aggressive and violent behaviour that has no regard for the needs or feelings of others. Robbery, therefore, was not a rational choice based on a consideration of alternatives and measured consequences; rather, robberies were an impulsive act of desperation used as a source of income for a lifestyle of immediate personal gratification.

Exum's (2002) research also challenges the strength of the rational choice model. Though alcohol and anger interacted to increase one measure of aggressivity, the perceived costs and benefits of violence were unaffected. This suggests that perceived cost/benefits are of differential importance, depending on the participant's state of mind. This challenges the robustness of the rational choice model, as the theory was unable to uniformly explain aggression across experimental conditions. In a related study, Exum (2002) concludes that alcohol and anger do not increase subjects' intentions to engage in assaults, but do increase their expectations of others engaging in violence. Consequently, the rational choice model does not fully explain the effects of alcohol and anger on aggressive responding, suggesting that the two come together in order to increase violence above and beyond the influence of perceived costs/benefits.

Routine Activities Theory

Routine activities theory is commonly used to explain why and how youth are at a heightened risk of being involved in offending behaviour and of being victimized. Since an individual's demographics influence their daily activities, they are predictive of their risk of victimization. Young unmarried males experience the highest frequency of victimization; their nightly activities, then, provide significant support for the theory, as it is these that take them away from the security of the home. By being out at night, these youth come into increased contact with offenders, partake in high-risk behaviours such as drug and alcohol use, participate in delinquent activities themselves, and frequent high-risk situations and areas (Kennedy and Ford, 1990; Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub, 1991). Therefore, as a consequence of their routine activities and lifestyle, they are at a substantially higher risk for victimization. Felson (1997), however, did not find a connection between females' night-time activities and their risk of victimization, though this may be attributable to females being more risk-averse and avoiding dangerous situations and areas (213–217). Similarly, as people age, their risk of victimization decreases, and this may be the result of alterations in their routine activities.

Research also supports the situational nature of crime and how certain "risky behaviours" increase the likelihood of encountering violent situations. By putting oneself in a risky environment or disorganized neighbourhood, youth increase their likelihood of criminal involvement. Engaging in "risky behaviours" (i.e., alcohol and drug consumption, being out at night, gang involvement, associating with delinquent peers, dating) increases proximity and exposure to violence and increases the likelihood that youth will find themselves in situations where they become perpetrators or victims of violence (Brown, 2003; Daday et al., 2005; Gabor and Mata, 2004; Gatez, 2004; Gover, 2004; Logan et al., 2006; Nofziger and Kurtz, 2005; Rapp-Paglicci and Wodarski, 2000). According to Chapple and Hope (2003), low levels of self-control, along with exposure to criminal opportunities and criminogenic situations, are associated with engaging in dating and gang violence, as these youth have a tendency to put themselves in "risky situations" where they are more likely to be involved in violent encounters.

Further supporting the situational nature of offending, Campbell et al. (2002) found the concept of opportunity to be predictive of both violent and property school-based offences. Similarly, Gouvis (2002) found that schools act as a social milieu for violence, with social disorganization and routine activities influencing block-level violent crime rates. During the after-school period, blocks near schools that are categorized by resource deprivation experienced higher rates of violence than blocks near schools with more resources. This finding suggests that a lack of resources results in less supervision of youth, which creates more opportunities for offending. Hummer (2004), however, did not find support for the situational nature of offending, as it was found that these factors were insignificant in reducing violent or property crimes on campuses.

In terms of guardianship, Schreck and Fisher (2004) found that tightly knit families are better situated to provide direct protection for children, as well as to reduce their exposure to motivated offenders. Children who associated with delinquent peers tended to experience enhanced exposure to motivated offenders and to be ineffectively supervised and were seen as more suitable targets for violence. The effects of peer context, however, did not seem to detract from the influence of family variables; each appears to predict violent victimization independently. The findings also revealed that demographic variables remain important predictors, net of the routine activities, family, and peer variables. Similarly, Spano (2005) concluded that, over all, routine activities theory receives mixed support in terms of the influence of deviant lifestyles as a risk factor and social guardianship as a protective factor, with these factors exerting inconsistent influence depending on race and sex.

Taken collectively, this research seems to indicate that though there may be rational elements involved in the decision to engage in offending behaviour, there are other motivators and factors that exert influence on the decision above and beyond a cost/benefit analysis. Much offending behaviour appears to be impulsive, without consideration of the consequences. In this way, the likelihood of apprehension or the seriousness of the sanction do not appear to cross the minds of offenders when they make the decision to offend. Offenders, particularly property offenders, may give some consideration to the chances of being caught; however, this does not appear to be the deciding factor in the decision to offend. It appears that, instead of thinking of the long-term negative consequences, offenders focus primarily on the immediate benefits associated with the offence. This suggests that offenders may not be as rationally motivated or calculating as it is often assumed.

Policy Implications

Rational choice and routine activities theory both hold that crime rates are a product of criminal opportunity. It is thus thought that by increasing the number of guardians, decreasing the suitability of targets or reducing the offender population, the crime rate should decline. A central implication of understanding offending in terms of a rational calculation means that the criminal justice system is capable of controlling crime, that aggressive law enforcement and severe punishment should deter offenders, and consequently, produce a notable reduction in criminal offending.

The question, however, remains: Is crime rational? The inherent difficulty with these theories is they are premised on the assumption that offenders are rationally calculating individuals. Though there is some support for the tenets of this theory, the primary weakness in its applicability is the assumption that offenders think before acting, that they conduct a cost-benefit analysis before deciding to engage in crime. Despite the appearance of rationality in offending, the implications of assuming this rationality, in terms of deterrence, is not strongly supported by research.

Deterrence comprises the certainty, severity and celerity (speed) of legal sanctions. According to deterrence, rationally calculating offenders can be swayed from committing offences if the chances of apprehension are high, the punishment is severe and justice is swift. Therefore, if criminals are indeed rational, an inverse relationship should exist between punishment and crime; as the sanctions for offending are increased, a threshold should be reached where it is no longer beneficial to the offender to engage in offending behaviour. By implication, it is held that crime rates are influenced and controlled by the threat and imminence of criminal punishment. It is commonly assumed that if offenders were punished more severely, offenders, being rationally calculating individuals, would choose not to offend because the offence is not worth the punishment. However, Doob and Webster (2003) conducted a comprehensive review of deterrence literature published in the last 30 years and concluded that variations in sentence severity do not affect the level of crime in society. Therefore, while deterrence makes intuitive sense, it is not supported by empirical research.

The difficulty, according to LeBlanc and Frechette (1989), is that offenders make almost no preparation for an offence, something that is especially true for young offenders. This means that the offence is not the result of a calculated or well thought out process. While it is conceded by Ladouceur and Biron (1993) that some thought goes into offending, the plans tend to focus on the immediate offence, not the long-term consequences of that action. Doob and Cesaroni (2004) suggest that a distinction needs to be made between rational choice in the short term and consideration of the long-term implications. Youth do not consider the long term; they are impulsive and focus on the immediacy of the rewards associated with offending. Even if youth do think of the criminal justice consequences, they find them irrelevant as it is unlikely that they will be apprehended (242). In fact, in interviews with prisoners, Tunnell (1996) found that all 60 respondents reported that they simply did not think about the criminal consequences of their actions. Though they knew their actions were criminal, and therefore tried to avoid capture, more than half were unaware of the severity of the punishment for the offence (44).

Since most offenders do not think they will be caught, and in fact it is unlikely that they will be caught, increasing the penalty has no prolonged effect on the crime rate. It is the perceived risk of apprehension, not the severity of punishment, that holds the greatest power to deter, though this ability is limited as well. This is amply demonstrated by the Kansas City experiment, where it was found that variations in police patrol techniques had little effect on the crime patterns (Kelling et al., 1974). Regardless of the actual likelihood of apprehension, most offenders do not think they will be caught. This finding is supported by Burski et al. (1990), who failed to find a relationship between the likelihood of being arrested or imprisoned and corresponding crime rates.

Originally postulated by Oscar Newman in the 1970s, situational crime prevention is supposed to create defensible space, which suggests that crime can be prevented through the use of architectural designs that reduce opportunity. Situational crime prevention is aimed at convincing would-be criminals to avoid specific targets. It is thus held that criminal acts will be avoided if the potential targets are carefully guarded, if the means to commit crime are controlled, if potential offenders are carefully monitored, and if opportunities for crime are reduced (Siegel and McCormick, 2006: 135). The difficulty with situational crime prevention strategies in general, and closed-circuit television and public surveillance in particular, is that they tend to displace offending behaviour to locations that are not under surveillance. Instead of preventing crime, these often costly surveillance strategies simply move crime to another location (Barr and Pease, 1990). This is exemplified by the 2003 police crackdown on illicit drug use in Vancouver. Rather than reducing drug offending, the only "success" the crackdown had was to disperse drug activity over a larger area. Wood et al. (2004) assert that since enforcement efforts do not address deeper issues such as poverty, health, harm reduction, welfare and housing, they are incapable of producing real reductions in crime.

Assuming a rational basis for committing a crime overestimates the extent to which people consider the legal consequences of their actions. This theory also focuses on individuals and their choices while ignoring the social constraints and conditions that shape an individual's circumstances, thought processes, and life chances. These exert considerable influence on people. Engaging in crime is not simply a rational decision. It is affected by the interaction of a number of factors and influences. Furthermore, increasing the penalty also assumes that offenders were aware of the original sanction and felt it was worth the risk, while the new, more punitive punishment makes it no longer worth the risk in a cost/benefit analysis. This, again, is assuming that offenders are aware of the change in the severity of the sentence and rationally calculate their choice of action. Since this assumption is not supported by the literature, both specific and general deterrence strategies have not yielded the results predicted by rational choice theorists.

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Chapter 4:

Social Disorganization Theory[3]

Social disorganization theory grew out of research conducted in Chicago by Shaw and McKay (see Shaw and McKay, 1942). Using spatial maps to examine the residential locations of juveniles referred to Chicago courts, Shaw and McKay discovered that rates of crime were not evenly dispersed across time and space in the city. Instead, crime tended to be concentrated in particular areas of the city, and importantly, remained relatively stable within different areas despite continual changes in the populations who lived in each area. In neighbourhoods with high crime rates, for example, the rates remained relatively high regardless of which racial or ethnic group happened to reside there at any particular time, and, as these previously "crime-prone groups" moved to lower-crime areas of the city, their rate of criminal activity decreased accordingly to correspond with the lower rates characteristic of that area. These observations led Shaw and McKay to the conclusion that crime was likely a function of neighbourhood dynamics, and not necessarily a function of the individuals within neighbourhoods. The question that remained was, what are the characteristics of various neighbourhoods which account for the stability of the crime rate?

In answering this question, Shaw and McKay focused on the urban areas experiencing rapid changes in their social and economic structure, or the "zones of transition." In particular, they looked to neighbourhoods that were low in socio-economic status. It is important to clarify that, despite the economic deprivation of areas with higher than average crime rates, Shaw and McKay did not propose a simple direct relationship between economic deprivation and crime. They argued instead that areas characterized by economic deprivation had high rates of population turnover, since these were undesirable residential communities, which people left once it became feasible for them to do so. Socio-economically deprived areas also tended to be settled by newly arrived immigrants, which resulted in the ethnic and racial heterogeneity of these areas. As such, socio-economically deprived areas had high rates of residential mobility and racial heterogeneity. These neighbourhoods were viewed as "socially disorganized." In such areas, conventional institutions of social control (e.g., family, schools, churches, voluntary community organizations) were weak and unable to regulate the behaviour of the neighbourhoods' youths.

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[3] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Randy Seepersad, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Shaw and McKay (1942) also noted that, aside from the lack of behavioural regulation, socially disorganized neighbourhoods tended to produce "criminal traditions" that could be passed to successive generations of youths. This system of pro-delinquency attitudes could be easily learned by youths through their daily contact with older juveniles. Thus, a neighbourhood characterized by social disorganization provides fertile soil for crime and delinquency in two ways: through a lack of behavioural control mechanisms and through the cultural transmission of delinquent values.

The social disorganization perspective remained both popular and influential throughout the 1950s and 1960s. As Bursik and Grasmick (1992) note, however, with the refinement of survey approaches to data collection and the increased interest in social-psychological theories of control, deterrence, social learning, and labelling, the focus of the discipline significantly began to shift from group dynamics to individual processes during the 1960s and 1970s. This trend away from macro-level criminological theory and research saw the social disorganization tradition fall into relative disfavour among criminologists, many of whom viewed it as irrelevant, or at best, marginal to modern criminology (e.g., Arnold and Brungardt, 1983; Davidson, 1981; cf. Byrne and Sampson, 1986).

Even so, social disorganization theory was "rediscovered" in the 1980s. Research by scholars such as Bursik (1986; 1988), Sampson and Groves (1989), and Wilson (1990; 1996) helped to revitalize, and partially reformulate and extend, the social disorganization tradition. In doing so, a number of criticisms levelled at the theory have been addressed (Bursik, 1988). For example, research has been conducted to test for the "reciprocal effects" of social disorganization (Bursik, 1986) and to test for the potential impact that levels of social disorganization of given communities may have on neighbouring communities (Heitgerd and Bursik, 1987).

In addition, the scope of the theory was adjusted and expanded to include constructs beyond the macro-level components originally specified by Shaw and McKay (i.e., low socio-economic status, residential mobility and racial heterogeneity). New concepts have been added that have enhanced its theoretical utility. In particular, recent research has explicitly tested for "intervening mechanisms" or mediating variables between the traditional social disorganization variables and crime rates. The intervening mechanisms noted by researchers include the effect of social disorganization on rates of family disruption and collective efficacy, which, in turn, directly influence crime rates (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997).

Recent research on social disorganization has taken two distinct but related directions. These have been referred to as the systemic model of social disorganization (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; 1996) and the social capital/collective efficacy framework developed by Robert Sampson and his colleagues (Sampson, Morenoff and Earls, 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997).

The systemic variant of social disorganization focuses on the structural variation of three basic types of networks and the effects of these on crime. These networks relate to the private sphere (intimate friendship and kinship relations), parochial networks (less intimate and secondary group relationships), and the public sphere (groups and institutions outside the neighbourhood). This variant focuses on the effects of social disorganization on these three sources of behaviour regulation.

The social capital/collective efficacy framework of Sampson and his colleagues argues that social disorganization can reduce social capital and collective efficacy and thereby increase crime and violence rates. Social capital fosters trust and solidarity among residents, while collective efficacy relates to the belief that residents can effectively control the likelihood of undesirable behaviour within their neighbourhood. Especially important in this variant of social disorganization theory is the development of intergenerational networks, the mutual transferral of advice, material goods, and information about child rearing, and expectations for the joint informal control, support, and supervision of children within the neighbourhood (Sampson, Morenoff and Earls, 1999).

Processes Leading from Social Disorganization to Crime

Family Processes

Sampson (1986) indicates that social disorganization may have an effect on youth violence through its effects on family structures and stability. He suggested that traditional social disorganization variables may influence community crime rates when taking into account the effects of levels of family disruption. This may occur by (1) removing an important set of control structures over youths' behaviour, and (2) creating greater opportunities for criminal victimization (i.e., through the lack of capable guardianship). Essentially, Sampson (1986) recognized the relationship of social disorganization theory to control theory and routine activities/lifestyle theory.

To test his assertions, Sampson (1986) used three measures of family structure. First, he included a measure of the per cent of residents in a neighbourhood who were ever married and who were either divorced or separated. The second measure of family structure was the per cent of female-headed families. Finally, he included a measure of the per cent of primary or single-headed households. His analyses revealed that, independent of the traditional social disorganization variables, the family structure variables each had a direct significant effect on community crime rates. Thus, Sampson's work identified an important and additional source of social disorganization (implicit in the work of Shaw and McKay) that had been previously overlooked by empirical studies.

McNulty and Bellair (2003) also investigated the importance of family processes within the social disorganization tradition. This study integrates theory and research in criminology and urban sociology to specify a contextual model of differences in adolescent violence between whites and five racial-ethnic groups. The model presented views these differences as a function of variation in community contexts, family socio-economic well-being, and the social capital available to adolescents and families. Data from the National Education Longitudinal Survey (1988 to 1992), which included information on 14,358 adolescents across 2,988 US locales, were matched with community-level data from the 1990 US census to test the resulting model. The white-black disparity in adolescents' fighting is explained by higher levels of disadvantage in the communities in which black children often live. The disadvantage index accounted for the largest reduction in the black effect on fighting, reflecting the well-documented concentration of disadvantage in black communities. Importantly, and in agreement with the importance of family processes for social disorganization theory, the results indicate that the effect of concentrated disadvantage on fighting is mediated by more proximate processes that are linked to family well-being.

Tolan, Gorman-Smith and Henry (2003) employ data from a longitudinal study of 284 African-American and Latino adolescent boys and their caregivers, living in poor urban communities, to test a developmental-ecological model of violence. Six annual waves of data were applied to evaluate the relations between microsystem influences of parenting and peer deviance, macrosystem influences of community structural characteristics and neighbourhood social organization, and individual involvement in violence. Structural equation modelling analyses showed that community structural characteristics significantly predicted neighbourhood social processes. Importantly, it was found that parenting practices partially mediated the relation between neighbourhood social processes and gang membership.

Consistent with the above research that social disorganization may influence the level of youth violence through its effect on family processes, other researchers have found that family processes may be used to mitigate the deleterious effects of social disorganization. Burfeind (1984), for example, examined the role of the family, within a larger social context, as it relates to delinquency. This study focused on 1,588 non-black junior and senior high school students in the US. Burfeind analyzed the interactive effects of five family dimensions in relation to four other causal variables commonly associated with delinquency involvement: community social disorganization, delinquent friends, attachment to peers, and delinquent definitions. Analysis revealed that family factors influenced delinquency in different ways. The level of an adolescent's attachment to the father was found to be independently related to delinquent activity after controlling for all other effects (independent and interactive). Paternal discipline had an interactive effect on delinquency, such that the type of paternal discipline influenced the effect that community social disorganization and the number of delinquent friends had on delinquency.

Sampson (1992) has attempted to consolidate the empirical findings that relate social disorganization to family processes and then to delinquency and youth violence. In so doing, he has developed a community-level theory of social disorganization, which places primary emphasis on family management practices and child health and development. He notes that the embeddedness of families and children in a community context is a central feature of the theory. Prenatal care, child abuse prevention, monitoring and supervision of youth, and other family management practices are intertwined with community networks of social organization. Social disorganization directly and indirectly influences the care of children and other family processes, and ultimately, rates of delinquency and crime.

Neighbourhood Processes

Neighbourhood processes have been implicated in the link between social disorganization and crime, with a number of authors arguing for the importance of different causal pathways. Sampson and Groves (1989) investigated how informal social controls are affected by social disorganization. Their study used aggregated data from the British Crime Survey. The intervening mechanisms between social disorganization variables and crime rates specified in their study include informal control mechanisms such as youths' local friendship networks, the prevalence of unsupervised peer groups, and the level of organizational participation in the neighbourhood. Their general hypothesis is that social disorganization (i.e., low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility) affects informal control mechanisms in such a way that it increases crime and delinquency rates. The dependent measures employed in the study were total victimization, robbery, mugging, burglary, theft, and vandalism rates. The model was first tested by analyzing data for 238 localities in Great Britain, constructed from a 1982 national survey of 10,905 residents. The model was then replicated on an independent national sample of 11,030 residents of 300 British localities in 1984. Results from both surveys support the hypothesis and show that social disorganization significantly influenced the intervening variables, which in turn influenced all crime outcome measures.

Sun, Triplett and Gainey (2004), using American data, test an extended model of social disorganization that includes the theoretical paths proposed by Sampson and Groves (1989). Their model predicts that neighbourhoods with low socio-economic status, high residential mobility, racial heterogeneity, and family disruption should have sparse local friendship networks, low organizational participation, and unsupervised youth groups. These, in turn, are predicted to increase crime rates. To test this model, the authors used interview data from 8,155 residents of 36 neighbourhoods in seven US cities. The findings offered partial support for the Sampson and Groves model, since social disorganization variables were more effective in transmitting the effects of structural characteristics on assault compared with robbery.

Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997) examined how social disorganization influences violence and crime, via its effects on collective efficacy. Their study argued that socially disorganized neighbourhoods are likely to be low on collective efficacy, which was defined as "the willingness of local residents to intervene for the common good" (Sampson et al., 1997: 919). The authors go on to state that community residents are "unlikely to intervene in a neighbourhood context in which the rules are unclear and people mistrust or fear one another. It follows that socially cohesive neighbourhoods will prove the most fertile contexts for the realization of social control." (919). Using aggregated data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighbourhoods, they found that the traditional social disorganization variables explained 70 per cent of the variation in their collective efficacy measures, which, in turn, effectively mediated much of the direct effects of the social disorganization variables on violence and crime.

Cantillon et al. (2003) utilized an updated systemic model of social disorganization to investigate neighbourhood effects on both positive and negative youth outcomes. They argue that updated social disorganization models facilitate the assessment of truly important social processes and dynamics that result in cohesive and supportive neighbourhoods. These authors hypothesized that a sense of community was a more valid, comprehensive, and applicable measure for the mediating variables in social disorganization theory. Sense of community was defined as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met by their commitment to be together" (324). Data for this study was gathered by interviews in 1999–2000. The sample consisted of 103 tenth-graders, one parent, and one neighbour of each tenth-grader. Mediation testing employed the principles outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986). Results supported the hypothesis that sense of community mediates the effect of neighbourhood disadvantage on youth outcomes.

Social Disorganization and Economic Deprivation

A number of studies have supported the idea that economic deprivation may be an important influence on social disorganization, which, in turn, as the previous research has indicated, is an important influence on youth violence. This proposes that economic deprivation could lead to social disorganization, which in turn leads to violence and crime. Other researchers, in contrast, have argued that poverty conditions the effects of social disorganization on youth violence. That is, social disorganization in conjunction with poverty results in higher rates of youth violence than either social disorganization or poverty alone do. No mediating processes are proposed in this second explanation. The research highlighted below offers partial support for both propositions, and indicates that researchers and practitioners who are interested in the effects of social disorganization on crime should also consider the importance of economic deprivation.

Shaw and McKay (1942) viewed the economic well-being of a community as a major determinant of variation in rates of delinquency. In particular, poor communities lack adequate resources to defend their interests collectively. Kornhauser (1978: 78–79) summarizes this position as follows:

> In poor communities, institutions lack adequate money and knowledge. From the family to the community at large, money and skills for the effective performance of allotted functions are deficient or absent. Also, the intermediate structures created in communities with populations that are more affluent and knowledgeable fail to emerge in the less resourceful slum.... Without intermediate structures, community wide relations are weak or cannot become established.

Shaw and McKay consistently found strong negative associations between several different indicators of neighbourhood socio-economic status and delinquency rates. However, a number of studies in the 1950s and 1960s argued that, while crime rates are higher in lower socio economic areas, this relationship is spurious and disappears when other area characteristics are simultaneously considered (e.g., Bordua, 1958; Lander, 1954; Polk, 1957). Lander, for example, argued that delinquency rates reflected the level of anomie or integration in a given area and not the economic status of the area. Other researchers, in contrast, have argued that economic deprivation is a strong predictor of youth violence, independent of other influences (Baron, 2004; Bellair, Roscigno and Mcnulty, 2003; Eisler and Schissel, 2004). Social disorganization researchers, in contrast to both of the above views, argue that the relationship between economic deprivation and youth violence is more complex, and could be better understood if the concept of social disorganization is integrated with economic deprivation. Following is an examination of research in this tradition.

Blau and Blau (1982) argue that when economic inequalities are associated with ascribed characteristics such as race, this creates latent animosities and a situation characterized by social disorganization. This is because such ascriptions are perceived to be illegitimate, especially in societies that value egalitarianism. This situation is made more salient by the visible marker of race. The consequence is socially structured inequalities, which result in feelings of "resentment, frustration, hopelessness and alienation" (119). Blau and Blau suggest that these feelings lead to widespread social disorganization and violent crime. Blau and Blau test these assertions using 1970 US data for a sample of 125 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas with populations of more than 250,000. The findings support their hypothesis.

Eamon (2001) conducted research that is consistent with the findings of Blau and Blau (1982). In doing so, he examined the influence of parenting practices, environmental influences and poverty on anti-social behaviour. Data from a sample of 10 to 12-year-old children (N = 963) from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (USA) are analyzed. Deviant peer pressure and neighbourhood problems partially mediate the relation between poverty and young adolescent anti-social behaviour. Both of the above studies are supportive of the idea that economic deprivation could lead to social disorganization, which in turn can lead to youth violence.

The research by Smith and Jarjoura (1988), Warner and Pierce (1993), and Warner and Roundtree (1997), in contrast to the above, all support the idea that poverty may moderate the relationship between social disorganization and crime. That is, social disorganization may lead to crime, but the effects are even more pronounced when social disorganization occurs within the context of high levels of poverty.

Smith and Jarjoura (1988) examine the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and rates of violent crime and burglary. They argue that Shaw and McKay's social disorganization theory provides a meaningful point of departure for examining the uneven distribution of criminal victimization across social units. Measures of three central theoretical elements in Shaw and McKay's social disorganization perspective (poverty, residential mobility, and racial heterogeneity) and variables from the subculture of violence, social control, and opportunity perspectives are included in this research. The authors use data from 11,419 individuals in 57 US neighbourhoods from three Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas to test their hypotheses. The results indicate that core components of Shaw and McKay's theory are important in explaining neighbourhood victimization rates, although their influence is more conditional than direct and varies by type of crime. Specifically, an interaction between percentage of low income households and residential mobility is a significant predictor of violent crime. That is, "the influence of residential mobility on violent crime rates varies with the poverty level of an area. Communities that are characterized by rapid population turnover *and* high levels of poverty have significantly higher violent crime rates than mobile areas that are more affluent, or poor areas that are characterized by more stable populations." (42–43; italics in original). These results hold, regardless of level of urbanization, and are found in each of the three Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas for which the authors examined data. In the case of burglary, in contrast to violent crime, the interaction terms were not significant.

Warner and Pierce (1993) examine social disorganization theory using calls to the police as a measure of crime. Data were gathered from 60 Boston neighbourhoods in 1980. The authors argue that data based on complainant reports of crime, rather than official police reports, allow for the investigation of differences in findings based on victimization data and official crime data. The rates of assault, robbery, and burglary are regressed on poverty, residential mobility, racial heterogeneity, family disruption, and structural density. Interaction terms for poverty and heterogeneity, poverty, and mobility, and mobility and heterogeneity are also explored. The authors find that each of the social disorganization variables predicted crime rates, with poverty being the strongest and most consistent predictor. Interaction terms constructed between poverty and racial heterogeneity and poverty and residential mobility were also fairly stable predictors of crime. Similarly to Smith and Jarjoura (1988), the results indicate that poverty strengthens the effects of social disorganization on crime.

Warner and Roundtree (1997) employ a sample of 100 Seattle census tracts and investigate the influence of poverty, racial heterogeneity, residential stability, and interaction terms on assault and burglary. Consistent with the results of Smith and Jarjoura (1988) and Warner and Pierce (1993), they find that an interaction term between poverty and residential stability significantly predicts both dependent measures.

The studies cited in this section indicate that economic deprivation is an important factor to consider when examining the influence of social disorganization on crime. Two relationships between these constructs have been suggested by the existing research. Firstly, poverty may increase social disorganization, which in turn may lead to youth violence. Secondly, poverty may moderate or condition the relationship between social disorganization and youth violence. Specifically, the influence of social disorganization on crime may be more pronounced in poorer areas and attenuated in more affluent areas.

The relative importance of social disorganization as a predictor of youth violence compared with other theories of crime

In addition to examining the results of studies that use social disorganization as a predictor of youth violence, it is important to assess the relative importance of social disorganization when compared with other theories of crime. This may be done through an assessment of the findings of review studies, and by examining the findings of meta-analytical studies that have attempted to assess the relative importance of various theories of crime. One review study (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley, 2002) and one meta-analytical study (Pratt and Cullen, 2005) will be examined.

Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley (2002) review and assess the cumulative research of "neighbourhood effects" literature that examines social processes related to problem behaviours and health-related outcomes. In doing so, they examine the range of studies that have used social disorganization as a predictor of crime to assess whether this variable has generally been found to be important. Over 40 studies published in peer-reviewed journals from the mid-1990s to 2001 are included. The analysis evaluates the salience of social-interactional and institutional mechanisms hypothesized to account for neighbourhood-level variations in a variety of phenomena (e.g., delinquency, violence, depression, high-risk behaviour), especially among adolescents. Neighbourhood ties, social control, mutual trust, institutional resources, disorder and routine activity patterns are highlighted. The review indicates that crime rates are related to neighbourhood ties and patterns of interaction, social cohesion, and informal social control, and are generally supportive of a social disorganization explanation.

Pratt and Cullen (2005) conduct a meta-analysis, which examines the relative effects of macro-level predictors of crime in relation to seven macro-level criminological perspectives. The analysis included 214 empirical studies, published between 1960 and 1999, that contained 509 statistical models that produced a total of 1,984 effect size estimates. Indicators of "concentrated disadvantage" (e.g., racial heterogeneity, poverty, and family disruption) are among the strongest and most stable predictors. Except for incarceration, variables indicating increased use of the criminal justice system (e.g., policing and get-tough policy effects) are among the weakest. Across all studies, the authors find that social disorganization and resource/economic deprivation theories receive strong empirical support; anomie/strain, social support/social altruism, and routine activity theories receive moderate support; and deterrence/rational choice and subcultural theories receive weak support.

Policy Implications

Pratt and Cullen (2005), in their meta-analysis of seven macro-level criminological perspectives, found that criminal justice system variables were consistently among the weakest predictors of crime, with the exception of incarceration, which was negatively related to crime rates. Over all, the most obvious implication of the findings is the likely futility of continued efforts to reduce crime by focusing exclusively on criminal justice system dynamics, with the possible exception of incarceration. The wisdom of expanded imprisonment must nonetheless be balanced against its financial costs and its questionable impact on the social vitality of inner cities. This implies that policy-makers must exercise caution when ignoring the root causes of crime and placing potentially excessive faith in criminal justice solutions to control crime. The research by Pratt and Cullen (2005) suggests that a focus on social disorganization and resource/economic deprivation theories, and the related policy implications for crime and youth violence reduction, warrant further consideration.

Social disorganization theory suggests that public spending and private investment must be concentrated in the most impoverished areas. This does not mean spending more human service dollars for the underclass by funding well-intentioned programs run by middle-class providers located on the periphery of the poorest neighbourhoods. Rather, this suggests that money be spent mainly on programs physically located in underclass neighbourhoods, run by people with ties to the neighbourhoods they intend to serve. This policy has the effect of targeting programs for the underclass while also strengthening minority agencies or creating new agencies within very poor neighbourhoods. These agencies not only provide services, but can also provide jobs for neighbourhood residents. As employment opportunities increase and better-funded local agencies become centres for social action, pressures on working- and middle-class residents to flee should decrease. Such an approach will also simultaneously strengthen residential ties and interconnections within neighbourhoods.

Social disorganization theory suggests that family preservation programs should be funded. This is because the family may be able to resist the deleterious effects of social disorganization on their children, and since strong families may also work together to reduce social disorganization in their communities. Family preservation programs are short-term, intensive, empowerment model programs, which focus not on an individual client but rather on the needs of the entire family. In dozens of states and cities in the US, these programs have been modelled after the successful "homebuilders" projects funded by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation. Nelson, Landsman and Duetelman (1990) indicate that one of the most encouraging advances in social work in the past decade has been the development of family preservation programs.

Social disorganization theory implies that large public bureaucracies should become more neighbourhood-based and more open to input from clients and the neighbourhoods they serve. Reminiscent of the 1960s community control movement (Altshuler, 1970), current research suggests that social control is least effective when imposed by outside forces. Community controls are strengthened most when informal community-level networks are voluntarily tied to external bureaucracies and other resources (Figueira-McDonough, 1991). Diverse reform trends in policing, education and social services all stress more community involvement in public bureaucracies (Chubb and Moe, 1990; Comer, 1972; Goldstein, 1977; Kamerman and Kahn, 1989). These reforms, insofar as they increase client and neighbourhood control and break down existing bureaucratic barriers, merit support. Further ideas which relate to public policy implications are discussed in Elliott and Tolan (1998) and Wilson (1987).

Conclusion

The studies reviewed above indicate that social disorganization is an important predictor of youth violence and crime, and that social disorganization has its impact on youth violence and crime by affecting a number of mediating processes that facilitate youth violence. The findings also indicate that researchers and practitioners need to consider the linkages between economic deprivation and social disorganization when attempting to explain the genesis of youth violence. In attempting to attenuate youth violence, a number of policy implications are suggested by social disorganization theory.

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Chapter 5:

Economic Deprivation[4]

The link between economic conditions and crime has been explored directly or indirectly by a range of theories, including conflict theory (Bonger, 1916; Marx, 1887; Taylor et al., 1973), subcultural theories (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967), strain theory (Agnew, 1992 and 1999; Merton, 1949), opportunity theories (Cantor and Land, 1985; Cohen et al., 1980), social disorganization theory (Kornhauser, 1978; Shaw and McKay, 1942), economic theories of crime (Becker, 1968; Blau, 1977; Ehrlich, 1973), and relative deprivation theory (Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966).

Conflict theory indicates that in capitalist societies, structural contradictions lead to the economic exploitation of workers, which in turn promotes class struggle between workers and capitalists (Marx, 1887). According to Marx's theory of rebellion, the greater the extent of economic exploitation, the more likely that the working class will experience discontent, or what Marx referred to as immiseration. The greater the immiseration, the more likely that state policies will be violently challenged. In addition to the affective component of discontent, Marx also refers to a cognitive component – that workers must develop class consciousness and recognize their exploitation in order for rebellion to occur. According to Marxist theory, crime is a response aimed at recapitalization; a reorganization of the distribution of resources in a more equitable manner (Hagen, 1994). Marx's theory may help to clarify why inequality may be linked to political violence, but does little to clarify why some researchers have found a link between inequality and crime in general, especially where others who suffer inequality are the victims. Engels (1969) adds to Marx by suggesting that lower-class people are brutalized in so many spheres of their lives that they come to believe that brutalization represents a solution to many of their problems. Poverty also leaves them disillusioned about the sacredness of property. This is essentially a crude frustration aggression hypothesis as described by Dollard et al. (1939). Engels adds to Marx by clarifying how lower-class persons may become victims of crime, but does little to clarify white collar criminality. Willem Bonger's (1916) pioneering work helps to fill this omission. For Bonger, cupidity and exploitativeness in interpersonal relations emerge in the capitalist transformation of work from its value for use to its value for exchange. Key to this transformation is the increase of productivity to the point where more than is needed is being produced. This surplus value encourages greed and runs counter to the "social instincts of man," who prior to this gave to his comrades what they needed. The thrust of Bonger's argument is that capitalism "has developed egoism at the expense of altruism." This account is not confined to explaining lower-class criminality, but applies also to the industrial bourgeoisie. Capitalism encourages criminality of the lower class by the misery and inequality inflicted upon them, and criminal attitudes are encouraged among the upper class by the avarice fostered when capitalism thrives.

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[4] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Randy Seepersad, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Alternative accounts of how inequality may lead to youth violence have been advanced. It has been argued, for example, that inequality can reduce self-esteem and fosters the development of a negative self-image, which in turn can lead to crime (Hagen, 1994). The involvement in illicit activities not only provides short-term capital gains, but also bolsters self-image and feelings of social competence. This argument is related to the powerlessness thesis. Here, "delinquent and criminal acts are an attempt to make a mark on the world, to be noticed, to get identity feedback.... [F]or the powerless, crime and delinquency are a desperate effort to make things happen, to assert control" (Braithwaite, 1979: 68). It is important here to note that while Marxist theory argues that a reaction to inequality should be an attempt to overthrow the existing order and redistribute resources, the powerlessness thesis highlights that this is not often possible since inequalities often tend to deprive the lower strata of the strengths and resources needed to organize successful collective action. Coser (1968) notes that if such conflicts cannot find realistic expression, they may find expression as "non-realistic conflict." Such frustrations may result in feelings of diffuse aggression, with people more driven by hostile impulses rather than governed by rational processes.

Economic theories of crime (Becker, 1968; Block and Heineke, 1975; Ehrlich, 1973) indicate that individuals allocate time between market and criminal activity by comparing the expected returns from each, taking into account the likelihood and severity of punishment. In this explanation, inequality leads to crime by placing low-income individuals who have low returns from market activity in proximity to high-income individuals who have things that are worth taking. In economic theories of crime, poverty is a necessary condition, while inequality serves to further exacerbate the situation. While economic theories may shed light on lower-class criminality, they do little to explain white collar crime.

Strain theories also predict a link between economic deprivation and youth violence, since such deprivation is considered to be an important form of strain. Merton (1968) indicates that many societies place

> a high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all of its members... This patterned expectation is regarded as appropriate for everyone, irrespective of his initial lot or station in life... To the extent that this cultural definition is assimilated by those who have not made their mark, failure represents a double defeat; the manifest defeat of remaining far behind in the race for success and the implicit defeat of not having the capacities and moral stamina needed for success... It is in this cultural setting that, in a significant portion of cases, the threat of defeat motivates man to the use of those tactics, beyond the law or the mores, which promise 'success'.... The moral mandate to achieve success thus exerts pressure to succeed, by fair means and by foul means if necessary.

Merton's theory predicts that inequality should be associated with innovative responses such as crime. Merton is careful to point out however, that such "innovation" is only one among other possible responses.

Relative deprivation may also be considered to be a type of strain. While individuals may feel relatively deprived of a number of things (e.g., status, political power, etc.), feelings of relative deprivation due to economic comparisons can be an important motivator of crime. Relative deprivation occurs when individuals compare themselves on some valued dimension (such as income) with relevant-comparison others and find a negatively discrepant comparison; that is, that they are worse off than the comparison other. Such recognition (the cognitive component of relative deprivation) and the accompanying feelings such as anger (the affective component of relative deprivation) can be powerful motivators for action to reduce one's deprivation. Such action may be instrumental, and may include attempts to gain wealth legally or illegally, depending on whether or not one's deprivation is perceived to be just or unjust. Relative deprivation researchers argue that persons may compare only themselves to others (egoistic relative deprivation) or their group to other reference groups (fraternal or collective relative deprivation). Egoistic relative deprivation may motivate individual action, while fraternal relative deprivation may motivate collective action.

Social disorganization theory considers factors that diminish the effectiveness of informal social controls. Shaw and McKay (1942) and Kornhauser (1978) identify poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility as the three factors that weaken networks of social control and undermine the ability and willingness of communities to exercise informal control over their members. Sampson (1987) adds family stability to the list. Economic hardships and the struggles of life may result in the reduction of adequate child supervision and socialization, either directly by parents having to devote a considerable amount of time to earning income, or indirectly through family breakup. Economic deprivation also reduces social trust and facilitates social disorganization, which in turn leads to youth violence and crime. The above indicates that economic deprivation may affect community and family processes in such a way that youth violence increases.

In summary, the different theoretical approaches cited above offer plausible reasons why poverty, inequality, relative deprivation and other indicators of economic deprivation may be related to youth violence. It is important to note, as some of the theories imply, that different economic predictors may operate in entirely different ways; thus, the causal mechanisms that link each to crime may differ. Conflict theories focus on the brutalization of the lower class and the contradictions of capitalism. Social disorganization theory considers informal social deterrents to crime and the impact of economic factors upon these. Strain theories focus on pressures to commit crime, while economic theories focus on cost/benefit analysis and incentives to commit crime. Relative deprivation theories focus on the recognition of one's inequality and subsequent feelings of resentment and frustration. The above indicates that economic deprivation intersects with a number of other theories, some of which are treated in detail in other sections of this report. These include strain theories, relative deprivation theory, and social disorganization theory. This section of the report will therefore focus only on poverty and inequality as causes of youth crime and violence.

While many researchers contend that economic deprivation increases crime, critics of this view argue either that economic deprivation has no effect on crime, or that higher levels of economic deprivation in fact reduces crime. Researchers such as Allen (1996) and Messner (1982), for example, have found a negative relationship between poverty and crime; that is, high levels of poverty were associated with lower crime levels. Messner's research was designed to assess the violence-inducing consequences of poverty and inequality. He defines poverty as the proportion of the population below the poverty threshold specified by the Social Security Administration and adopted by the US Bureau of the Census (1969). Inequality was measured by the Gini coefficient. Messner used 1979 census data and Uniform Crime Report data to measure the predictors, the homicide rate, and a number of controls for 204 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Messner initially estimated an equation using regression with the two predictors and five controls and obtained a non-significant result for inequality and a "surprising" negative relationship between poverty and homicide. These findings hold, regardless of whether the poverty and inequality measures were combined in the same equation or considered separately in two different equations. The findings continue to hold, even when Messner used a more stringent measure of poverty – the proportion of families below an annual income of $1,000. He concludes that the findings call for a serious reconsideration of the linkages between poverty, inequality and homicide.

The findings of Allen (1996) also support the critics' arguments. Allen (1996), using 1959–1992 Uniform Crime Report and other data, examined the impact of poverty and inequality on robbery, burglary, and vehicle theft. The measure of poverty used is the poverty line specified by the Social Security Administration and the Gini coefficient is the measure of inequality. A number of controls were used, including the unemployment rate for individuals 16 and older, inflation, deterrence, incapacitation, and the per cent of 15–34 year olds. Allen finds that inequality is non-significantly related to all three dependent variables. The findings for poverty are more interesting, however. Poverty is negatively related to all three crimes, and significantly so for burglary and auto theft. This implies that higher levels of poverty are related to lower levels of these crimes.

Critics of the economic deprivation hypothesis argue that high levels of poverty may reduce crime for a number of reasons. Braithwaite (1979: 221), for example, explains this through the relationship of poverty to inequality. He states that "it may be that during most recessions, the number who are poor increases, but the gap between the rich and poor does not. If there is some evidence that crime can decrease when the number of poor increases, then this might be because the poor come to feel less relatively deprived as more and more of the formerly affluent join their ranks." Other authors have examined the importance of unemployment as a measure of economic deprivation and its effects on crime. Land and Felson (1976), and later Cantor and Land (1985), argue that rising unemployment may reduce the opportunities for crime. This suggests that as unemployment rises, there are fewer economic goods in circulation and those that exist are better protected. The idea of goods being better protected seems plausible, since unemployed workers may, on average, be more likely to stay closer to home. As well, quite apart from property crime, their risk of victimization through other types of crimes may also be reduced because they are exposed to a reduced variety of environments (Doyle et al., 1999). A purely economic rational-actor approach is also consistent with the critics' views. In times of affluence, the returns for committing property crimes increase (Cullen, 1988; Sjoquist, 1973). The 1984 national survey of 300 localities in the UK (Sampson and Groves, 1989) supports this. It was found that high community socio-economic status was significantly associated with higher rates of property crime (burglary, auto theft and vandalism). Durkheim (1947) also offers a classic explanation for a negative relationship between poverty and crime. He indicates that times of rapid economic advancement may disrupt social norms and create a sense of normlessness or anomie. In such times of economic prosperity, these reduced controls may result in increased crime.

Other economic deprivation critics argue that there may be a statistical relationship between such deprivation and crime, but not because economic deprivation causes crime and youth violence. Chambliss (1969), for example, argues that pervasive class bias operates at all levels of the criminal justice system, from the compilation of records to arrests to prosecution:

> Persons are arrested, tried, and sentenced who can offer the fewest rewards for non enforcement of the laws and who can be processed without creating any undue strain for the organizations which comprise the legal system.... The lower class person is (i) more likely to be scrutinized and therefore to be observed in any violation of the law, (ii) more likely to be arrested if discovered under suspicious circumstances, (iii) more likely to spend the time between arrest and trial in jail, (iv) more likely to come to trial, (v) more likely to be found guilty, and (vi) if found guilty more likely to receive harsh punishment than his middle or upper class counterparts (84–86).

This is consistent with the Marxist argument that elites use the criminal law to define the activities of the lower class as criminal, while ignoring the deviant activities of those in power (Chambliss and Seidman, 1982). This argument expects that economic deprivation is statistically related to crime, but argues against the idea that economic deprivation causes crime by its effects on the behaviour of those in the lower classes.

Empirical research that investigates the link between economic deprivation and crime is the most reliable way to determine the extent to which indicators of economic deprivation are linked to youth violence. The studies reviewed in this report indicate overwhelmingly that economic deprivation is an important predictor of youth violence. Following is an examination of some of the research findings in this area.

Above, it was pointed out that Messner (1982) argued and found that poverty was negatively relate to crime; that is, higher rates of poverty are associated with lower crime. Bailey (1984) criticizes Messner (1982) and replicates the latter's study and finds, contrary to Messner, that high levels of poverty increase crime. Bailey criticizes Messner's use of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas as the unit of analysis and instead uses cities and data from three years (1950, 1960, 1970) instead of one (1970 for Messner). Bailey (1984) uses a sample of 73 to 153 cities, and investigates the relationship of poverty and inequality to homicide using a number of controls, including per cent black, southern location, population size, population density, and per cent 15–29-year-olds. The main line of criticism of Messner (1982) is that Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas are an inappropriate unit of analysis for research on poverty and inequality. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas are defined by arbitrarily drawn lines, which have little to do with "social communities." There is wide variation in demographic and other characteristics in different areas within any given Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Because of the large size of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, computing rates for different variables masks important intra-unit variation that may be important for investigating statistical relationships. Another important problem is that Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas may not provide "relevant frames of reference in the assessment of economic well-being" (535). Bailey (1984) finds that poverty is significantly related to homicide in the expected direction for 1960 and 1970 data. Bailey also attempts, as Messner (1982) does, to use a more stringent measure of poverty (per cent low income, defined as the proportion of families with an annual income of below $1,000), and again finds poverty significant in the expected direction for 1960 and just barely missing statistical significance for 1970 data. He speculates that the non-significant finding for 1950 may perhaps be related to the fact that in 1950, $1,000 was worth much more than it was in 1960 or 1970, and as such, does not constitute as low a level of subsistence.

Kovandzic et al. (1998) employ 1990 data for the 190 largest cities in the United States to test the relationship between economic deprivation and homicide. Homicide is disaggregated into three categories, those occurring between family members, acquaintances and strangers. Kovandzic et al. also employed three measures of inequality: the Gini coefficient, the ratio of the percentage of total income received by the top 20 per cent of families to the percentage received by the lowest 20 per cent, and the share of income received by the top 20 per cent of families. The Social Security Administration operationalization of poverty was used. Using nine control variables in three regression models, one with each measure of inequality, Kovandzic et al. (1998) found that all three measures of inequality were significant predictors of homicide. Importantly also, in all three equations, poverty and unemployment were also significant predictors of homicide. Other researchers support the importance of economic deprivation as a predictor of crime and youth violence. Kennedy et al. (1991), using Canadian Metropolitan Areas, find both inequality and the per cent unemployed to be significant predictors of homicide for 1976 data, but not for 1981 data. Using countries as their unit of analysis, Pampel and Gartner (1995) found that inequality and GDP per 1000 were important predictors of homicide, while Fajnzylbar et al. (2002), also using countries, found that inequality and GDP growth rate were important predictors. Many other researchers have found that economic deprivation is an important predictor of youth violence.

Policy Implications

The findings of studies reviewed in this report indicate that economic deprivation can lead to youth violence and crime. Such violence need not be only instrumental; for example, aimed to relieve poverty or acquire goods that youths do not have; but may also be violent, as economic deprivation may create feelings of hopelessness and anger, which may lead to diffuse aggression (Blau and Blau, 1982). Research on relative deprivation, covered in another section of this report, sensitizes us to the fact that actual as well as perceived economic deprivation can lead to youth violence. This is especially true if one's economic deprivation is believed to be unjust; for example, when one believes that one is economically deprived because of ascribed factors such as race (Blau and Blau, 1982). The implication is that policy initiatives need to reduce the actual levels of poverty and inequality that beset youths, as well as eliminate or reduce the perception that people are in poverty or are the victims of inequality. One way to change perceptions is to change the actuality. That is, addressing actual poverty and inequality, by providing skills training and employment for youths, may also affect perceptions of economic deprivation. It should be noted, however, that perceptions may or may not always change as predicted. In this respect, it may be prudent for policy-makers to be sensitive to the factors that may affect perceptions. One body of literature that is potentially useful in this respect is the social-psychological writing on attitudes and attitude change.

With respect to changing actual levels of economic deprivation, Currie (1996) is especially important. Currie asserts that an effective anti-crime strategy should include the direct creation of jobs in areas demonstrating a pressing social need; systematic attempts to raise wages and lessen earnings disparities, particularly those related to gender and race; improvement of national job training and school-to-work transitions; and introducing legislation to shorten the workday and spread available work time. An important feature of Currie (1996) is that this article critically examines previous anti-poverty programs that have failed to reduce crime problems in the United States. Important lessons may be learned from these past failures.

Freeman (1987) indicates that there may be a cyclical relationship between economic deprivation and youth crime. That is, economic deprivation may increase youth crime, and youth crime in turn may exacerbate the economic deprivation of youths by reducing employment opportunities. In explaining the latter part of this sequence, Freeman argues that high rates of youth crime may reduce employment opportunities for youths because potential employers may move out of high-crime areas, or may believe that youths are untrustworthy and refrain from hiring them. As such, economic deprivation may increase youth violence and crime, which may in turn worsen the economic deprivation of youths by reducing employment. This cycle, with each component affecting the other, can lead to a progressively worsening situation for both economic deprivation and youth violence. Measures should be put in place to encourage employers to hire youths so that this process may be interrupted.

Black et al. (1998) point out that interventions for youths who face economic deprivation should not focus solely on economic deprivation indicators. Black et al. employ an ecological approach to examine the precursors of violence and direct attention to risk and protective factors at the individual, parent, family, and neighbourhood levels. Black et al. argue that preventative interventions for youths in poverty should be implemented in childhood, should be based on an understanding of child development and the cultural needs of the child, and should include social-cognitive skills training, self-esteem enhancement, and anger management training. Interventions should also promote positive options for youths, help to develop life and employment skills, and provide alternatives to violent behaviour. Importantly also, Black et al. note that intervention strategies should be accompanied by rigorous evaluations.

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Chapter 6:

Strain Theories[5]

This section considers four theories that are commonly classified as "strain theories." These theories include anomie theory (Merton, 1938), institutional anomie theory (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994), general strain theory (Agnew, 1985 and 1992), and relative deprivation theory (Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966). Each theory argues that strain creates pressures and incentives to engage in criminal coping as a response to the strain experienced, though each differs with respect to what constitutes the most important sources of strain.

Anomie Theory

Robert Merton published his "Social Structure and Anomie" in 1938. In this article, Merton set forth a theoretical framework for explaining crime rates that differed from the Chicago school criminologists. For example, theorists such as Shaw and McKay (1942) held that urban slum areas foster criminal behaviour through the generational transmission of deviant cultural value. Thus, social disorganization theory assumes that the rejection of conventional middle-class values results in high rates of crime in urban slum communities. Merton, on the other hand, argued that it was the rigid adherence to conventional American values that caused high rates of crime and deviance. In essence, he believed that the widespread conformity to American culture in general, and the American obsession with economic success in particular, produced high levels of serious crime. Understanding why Merton made such a claim requires an understanding of how he viewed American society.

Merton noted that, as opposed to other Western industrialized nations, the United States places an unusual emphasis on economic success. Even more unique is how this emphasis seems to be universal. All members of American society, from the well-to-do to the impoverished, ascribe to the "American dream" that if one were simply willing to work hard enough, one would inevitably reap the economic rewards of such labours. The problem, according to Merton, is that despite the widespread belief in the possibility of upward social mobility, the American social structure limits individuals' access to the goal of economic success through legitimate means. For example, while the probability of attaining economic success would be enhanced by getting a college education, not all members of American society are able to do so. Those lower on the socio-economic ladder are particularly vulnerable due to their relatively disadvantaged starting point in the race toward affluence.

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[5] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Randy Seepersad, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

In essence, Merton's work contained a discussion of how culture and social structure could cause high crime rates. Merton noted that the American culture, as stated above, places economic success at the pinnacle of social desirability. The emphasis on attaining economic success, however, is not matched by a concurrent normative emphasis on what "means" are legitimate for reaching the desired "goal." This problem is then exacerbated by the social structural component discussed by Merton, which highlights the structural barriers that limit individuals' access to the legitimate means for attaining the goal of economic success. This disjunction between culturally ascribed goals (i.e., economic success) and the availability of legitimate means to attain such goals (i.e., social structural limits) in turn puts pressure on the cultural norms that guide what means should be used to achieve the culturally prescribed goal.

Merton referred to this weakening of cultural norms as "anomie." His adoption of the term "anomie" is based on Durkheim's (1897) reference to the weakening of the normative order in society, or, put differently, how institutionalized social norms may lose their ability to regulate individuals' behaviour. In particular, Merton noted that institutionalized norms will weaken, and anomie will set in, in societies that place an intense value on economic success. When this occurs, the pursuit of success is no longer guided by normative standards of right and wrong. Rather, Merton (1968: 189) noted, "the sole significant question becomes: Which of the available procedures is most efficient in netting the culturally approved value?"

Merton was careful to note that there were a number of ways in which individuals may adapt to the "strains" brought on by the inability to secure pecuniary success, and not all of these adaptations are deviant. In his famous typology, Merton proposed that there were a number of adaptations possible in response to social systems that have anomie and blocked opportunities. These adaptations are: innovation, in which the goals are pursued but legitimate means are eliminated and illegitimate means are used; ritualism, in which the goals are abandoned but the legitimate means are pursued; retreatism, in which the goals are abandoned as well as the means; and rebellion, in which the social structure – both goals and means – is rejected and a new structure is advocated. A fifth adaptation is conformity, in which the goals are accepted and pursued, along with the legitimate means. Although Merton failed to articulate what factors determine which deviant adaptations will be adopted (as he acknowledges in his 1938 article), his theory predicts that rates of deviance will be greater when the level of anomie is higher and when the extent of blocked opportunities is greater. Conversely, conformity will be common in social systems when goals and legitimate means are clearly articulated and promoted and when opportunities are equal across individuals and social groups.

Merton's conceptualization of anomie theory rose to a dominant position in the 1950s and 1960s, both theoretically and empirically, and was applied to various deviant behaviours and expanded to include a theory integrated with Cultural Transmission/Differential Association (Cohen, 1955) and one that appreciated that individuals are located in illegitimate as well as legitimate opportunity structures (Cloward, 1959; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Anomie theory also endured a period of critique (cf. Hirschi, 1969; Kornhauser, 1978) and a period of benign neglect. Yet anomie has entered a period of resurgence within the last decade. Institutional Anomie Theory (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997; Messner and Rosenfeld, 2001; Rosenfeld and Messner, 1995) and General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1995; Agnew, 1999) have further refined and revised traditional theoretical contemplations about anomie. As well, anomie has been applied to a host of new areas. For example, anomie has been applied to illuminating the situation of street youth and street criminology (Hagan and McCarthy, 1997); anomie has been examined empirically (Menard, 1995; Menard, 1997); anomie has been utilized to elucidate specific deviant behaviours such as homicide (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997), transnational crime (Passas, 2000), and white collar crime (Cohen, 1995; Waring, Weisburd and Chayet, 1995); and anomie has been refined by synthesizing it with other theoretical concepts (Passas, 1997).

Institutional Anomie Theory

In Messner and Rosenfeld's (1994) *Crime and the American Dream*, Merton's anomie/strain theory was extended and partially reformulated. Although Messner and Rosenfeld agreed with Merton's view of American culture, they found his analysis of social structure incomplete. In particular, Merton held that the American system of stratification was responsible for restricting individuals' access to legitimate opportunities for upward socio-economic mobility, which in turn resulted in high levels of criminogenic anomie in society. What was missing from the anomie tradition, argued Messner and Rosenfeld, was an understanding of how the American dream promotes and sustains an institutional structure in which one institution, the economy, assumes dominance over all others. This apparent "imbalance" in the institutional structure limits the ability of other social institutions, such as the family, education, and/or the political system, to insulate members of society from the criminogenic pressures of the American dream or to impose controls over their behaviour.

As such, Messner and Rosenfeld (1994), like Merton, contend that American culture places a disproportionate emphasis on material success goals. Also consistent with Merton, they maintain that the contradictions implicit in the dominant value system produce strong pressures to employ the most efficient means available to achieve monetary rewards (84–85). However, their conceptualization of the impact of the social structure on the level of anomie and, in turn, on levels of instrumental crime, departs dramatically from Merton's. In particular, Messner and Rosenfeld question Merton's decision to restrict his analysis of the relationship between social structure and anomie to only one facet the social system, the legitimate opportunity structure (15). More to the point, they argue that an expansion of economic opportunities, rather than lessening the level of anomie in society, may actually intensify culturally induced pressures to use extralegal means to acquire monetary rewards. Insofar as economic vitality reinforces the societal preoccupation with the goal of material success, it is likely to heighten the level of anomie within a collectivity (62, 99–101). Hence, they conclude that the elimination of structural impediments to the legitimate opportunities cannot, in and of themselves, do much to reduce crime rates (108).

Rather than focusing solely on the limitations of the economic structure as the primary source of structural pressure to innovate (i.e., commit crime), Messner and Rosenfeld's analysis centres on the criminogenic influence of a variety of social institutions in American society. Drawing heavily on Marxist theory, they argue that the cultural penchant for pecuniary rewards is so all-encompassing that the major social institutions (i.e., the polity, religion, education, and the family) lose their ability to regulate passions and behaviour. Instead of promoting other social goals, these institutions primarily support the quest for material success (i.e., the American dream). For example, Messner and Rosenfeld contend that "education is regarded largely as a means to occupational attainment, which in turn is valued primarily insofar as it promises economic rewards" (78). In short, to the extent that social institutions are subservient to the economic structure, they fail to provide alternative definitions of self-worth and achievement that could serve as countervailing forces against the anomic pressures of the American dream. To summarize, Messner and Rosenfeld's institutional anomie theory holds that culturally produced pressures to secure monetary rewards, coupled with weak controls from non-economic social institutions, promote high rates of instrumental criminal activity (103–108).

The majority of studies that have empirically tested institutional anomie theory have employed property and violent crime as dependent measures. These studies include

Chamlin and Cochran, 1995; Maume and Lee, 2003; Messner and Rosenfeld, 1997; Piquero and Piquero, 1998; Pratt and Godsey, 2003 and Savolainen, 2000. Following is an examination of the empirical findings of studies that have investigated institutional anomie theory.

Chamlin and Cochran (1995) were the first to empirically examine institutional anomie theory. They examined the effects of economic (e.g., poverty) and non-economic measures (e.g., family, religion, and polity) on the 1980 property crime rates for the 50 US states. They analyzed the interaction effects of economic and non-economic measures on instrumental crime. For the most part, their findings were consistent with institutional anomie theory predictions. The authors found that higher levels of church membership, higher levels of voting participation, and lower levels of the divorce-marriage ratio reduced the criminogenic effects of poverty on instrumental crime. They concluded that economic measures had no independent effect on crime; rather, it was, as expected, the interplay between economic and non-economic institutions that increased anomie and led to higher levels of crime within a society.

Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) examined the relationship between the economy, measured as economic inequality, and the polity in relation to criminal homicide rates in 45 modern industrialized nations. They hypothesized that homicide rates and decommodification, a measure of values and resources made available to citizens to reduce their reliance on market forces, would vary inversely. Messner and Rosenfeld found that decommodification had a direct significant negative effect on homicide rates. Nations with greater decommodification scores tended to have lower homicide rates. They also found that the United States had a very low decommodification score and a very high homicide rate.

Building upon Messner and Rosenfeld's (1997) sample size of 45 nations, Savolainen (2000) added a second cross-national sample that included data from 36 additional countries, increasing the sample size to 81. Savolainen examined the interaction effects between economic inequality and welfare support. He found that economic inequality was a significant predictor of homicide in societies with weak institutions of social protection, thus supporting institutional anomie theory. Savolainen also found that nations offering the most generous welfare programs tended to have the lowest levels of economic inequality.

Pratt and Godsey (2003) highlighted the similarities of the relationships among measures of social support, economic inequality and crime across three theoretical perspectives: institutional anomie theory, social support (Cullen, 1994), and macro-level general strain theory (Agnew, 1999). By examining cross-national homicide rates, they found direct effects for both social support, measured as amount spent on health care, and income inequality, measured as the ratio of median income for the richest and poorest 20 per cent of the population. In addition, they found mediating effects for both social support and income inequality, in that when added together in a model, the main effects for both diminished. Finally, the moderating effect of income inequality and social support suggested that the presence of high levels of social support reduced the effect of economic inequality on rates of homicide.

Maume and Lee (2003) examined institutional anomie theory and used disaggregated homicide rates (e.g., total versus expressive versus instrumental) at the county level as their dependent measure. They suggested that non-economic institutions will not only moderate the influence of the economy on crime rates, but will also mediate the influence of the economy on crime rates. Over all, they found limited support for the commonly used moderating hypothesis; that is, they only found one significant interaction effect that suggested the effect of economic pressure on homicide rates was significantly weaker in counties with low levels of welfare disbursements. More support was found for the mediating hypothesis in that, across all three models, the measure of economy, the Gini coefficient of family income inequality, was reduced when predictors representing the non-economic institutions were added into the model. In support of institutional anomie theory, Maume and Lee conclude that non-economic institutions (i.e., polity, family, and education) mediate the relationship between the economy and instrumental violence.

Piquero and Piquero (1998) examined institutional anomie theory in relation to property and violent crime rates using data from 50 US states and Washington, D.C. Using census data for measures of the independent variables, Piquero and Piquero examined the education component of institutional anomie theory. For the most part, additive effects were significant and in the expected direction for both property and violent crime models. More importantly, the interactive effects revealed that higher percentages of individuals enrolled full-time in college reduced the effect of poverty on both crime types, while the polity-economy interaction was only statistically significant for violent crime rates.

These studies, taken as a whole, suggest partial support for institutional anomie theory. Across a variety of different outcomes as well as aggregated units, and utilizing various measures representing non-economic institutions, there appears to be some support for the presumption of the importance of the economy in explaining instrumental crimes.

General Strain Theory

Agnew's (1985 and 1992) general strain theory posits that strain leads to negative emotions, which may lead to a number of outcomes, including delinquency. The specific strains discussed in the theory include the failure to achieve positively valued goals (e.g., money or status), the removal of positively valued stimuli (e.g., loss of a valued possession), and the presentation of negatively valued stimuli (e.g., physical abuse). While many specific types of strain may fall into these categories, Agnew has attempted to specify the conditions under which strain may lead to crime. Strains that are 1) seen as unjust, 2) high in magnitude 3) associated with low social control, and 4) create some incentive to engage in criminal coping are most likely to lead to violence and delinquency.

According to general strain theory, individuals experiencing strain may develop negative emotions, including anger, when they see adversity as imposed by others, resentment when they perceive unjust treatment by others, and depression or anxiety when they blame themselves for the stressful consequence. These negative emotions, in turn, necessitate coping responses as a way to relieve internal pressure. Responses to strain may be behavioural, cognitive, or emotional, and not all responses are delinquent. General strain theory, however, is particularly interested in delinquent adaptations. General strain theory identifies various types of delinquent adaptations, including escapist (e.g., drug use), instrumental (e.g., property offences), and retaliatory (e.g., violent offences) outcomes. Coping via illegal behaviour and violence may be especially true for adolescents because of their limited legitimate coping resources, greater influence from peers, and inability to escape many stressful and frustrating environments.

Of the various types of negative emotions, anger has been identified as playing the key role in mediating the effect of strain on delinquency and violence. This is the case because anger "increases the individual's level of felt injury, creates a desire for retaliation/revenge, energizes the individual for action, and lowers inhibitions" (Agnew, 1992: 60). Some studies of the mediating model in general strain theory have focused on anger as the sole intervening factor in the relationship between strain and delinquency. Using data from the 1966 Youth in Transition survey, Agnew (1985) conducted the first study of this kind among tenth-grade boys. He found that the strain these boys experienced in school and at home had both a direct effect and an indirect effect (via anger) on property offences, violent offences, and status offences. Agnew also found that anger had the strongest effect on violent offences. Mazerolle and Piquero (1997) focused on how anger mediated the impact of strain on violent responses among college students. They found that exposure to various types of strain affected the students' assaultive behaviour, both directly and indirectly, through anger. In contrast to the above, Mazerolle et al. (2000) found that strain only affected violent behaviour directly in a sample of high school students and that anger did not have a significant mediating role.

Agnew (2004) notes that survey research typically measures trait anger or the disposition of anger, whereas general strain theory argues that strain produces situation-specific or short-term anger, which in turn may lead to crime. Researchers who measure trait anger may find that it does not mediate between strain and crime.

Other studies examined the role of other negative emotions, such as depression and anxiety, but found no mediating effects on delinquent outcomes (violent or non-violent). For example, Aseltine, Gore and Gordon's (2000) longitudinal study of high school students found that anxiety did not mediate the impact of strain on any kind of delinquent act, although their findings confirmed the mediating role of anger in the relationship between strain and violent/aggressive behaviour (but no such role for non-aggressive acts and drug use). Piquero and Sealock (2000) conducted a study among incarcerated youths on the effects of anger and depression in mediating the impact of strain on both violent and property crime. The results showed that depression failed to predict both types of crime, whereas anger predicted violence but not property crime. There have, however, been a few studies that indicate that the role of other mediating variables, apart from anger, should not be too quickly dismissed. Simons, Yi-Fu, Stewart and Brody (2003), for example, found that strain increased depression, which in turn contributed to crime. Agnew (2004) notes that researchers should attempt to investigate other variables that may mediate between strain and crime. For instance, strain may increase attitudes favourable to aggression, which in turn may lead to crime.

General strain theory has attempted to specify the factors which increase the likelihood that individuals will cope with strain by committing crime. Agnew contends that crime becomes a likely outcome when individuals have a low tolerance for strain, when they have poor coping skills and resources, when they have few conventional social supports, when they perceive that the costs of committing crime is low, and when they are disposed to committing crime because of factors such as low self-control, negative emotionality, or their learning history. Empirical research has offered some support for the above. Agnew et al. (2002), for example, found that individuals with the personality traits of negative emotionality and low constraint were more likely to respond to strain with crime. Such individuals are impulsive, overly active and quick to lose their tempers.

Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation refers broadly to people's perceptions of their well-being relative to comparison others. Well-being may be estimated based on a number of dimensions, including wealth, income, power and prestige. "Relative deprivation is [also] used to refer to the emotion one feels when making negatively discrepant comparisons"

(Crosby, 1976: 88). Relative deprivation theories argue that when attempting to understand the causes of crime, it is insufficient to examine objective factors such as poverty or inequality, and instead we must try to "delineate the factors that regulate the relationship between objective and subjective status" (Crosby, 1976: 88). According to relative deprivation theory, objective conditions may have little relationship to people's behaviour, since their perceptions of these conditions may be at odds with the actuality. The research of Agnew et al. (1996) suggests that "dissatisfaction or strain may occur at all class levels, and [this] may help to explain the weak effect of stratification measures on crime. Although one's 'objective' position in the stratification system is important, one's subjective interpretation of that position may be even more important" (695). The concept of relative deprivation directly measures people's subjective assessment of their economic position or other dimension of social comparison. Relative deprivation researchers explicitly recognize that people evaluate themselves relative to comparison others, and not all persons may choose the same comparison other. For this reason, relative deprivation is considered by its advocates to be more important when predicting people's behaviour, compared with more "objective" measures of deprivation such as poverty or inequality.

There are four formal theories of relative deprivation. Davis (1959) argues that people will experience relative deprivation when they lack X, perceive that similar others have X, want X, and feel entitled to have X. Runciman (1966) adds that the individual must think it feasible to obtain X, while Crosby (1976) asserts that individuals must also lack a sense of responsibility for failure to possess X. Runciman distinguishes between egoistic and fraternal relative deprivation. The former occurs at the individual level and the latter when individuals compare their group with other reference groups. Gurr (1970) argued that relative deprivation is the difference between one's value expectations and value capabilities. Value expectations refer to goods and opportunities that the individual wants and feels entitled to, estimated based on comparisons with others. Value capabilities are the goods and opportunities that individuals already possess. Based on this typology, Gurr distinguishes between aspirational, decremental, and progressive relative deprivation. "All four theorists conceive of relative deprivation as an emotion and not simply as a perception" (Crosby, 1979: 109). This alludes to the distinction between cognitive relative deprivation (the recognition that one is deprived) and affective relative deprivation (the emotions that one attaches to one's deprivation). Relative deprivation results in feelings of despair, frustration, grievance, and anger, and may be a powerful motivator of crime.

A number of researchers have employed relative deprivation as a predictor of crime.[6] Stiles et al. (2000) investigate the impact of relative deprivation (called perceived economic deprivation) on property crime, violent crime and drug use. These authors include drug use as a dependent measure and suggest that relative deprivation may result in various responses other than hostility displaced on others. Relative deprivation was specified with respect to three reference groups: friends, neighbours, and perceived national norms. Accordingly, relative deprivation was assessed by asking respondents to compare their total family income to these three groups. Stiles et al. argue that once people recognize that they are deprived, they may develop feelings of envy, injustice and low self-worth. They therefore hypothesize that the relative deprivation–crime relationship is mediated by negative self-feeling. Survey data from 6,074 adults are employed in their study. Using nine logistic regression models, Stiles et al. initially examine the relationship of the three relative deprivation predictors to the three crime measures. Poverty and four controls are employed in each model. Relative deprivation (friends) significantly predicted violent and property crime; relative deprivation (neighbours) predicted property crime and drug use; and relative deprivation (national norms) predicted all three crimes. To examine the mediating effect of negative self-feeling, Stiles et al. then include this variable in all models and assess the change in the coefficient of each relative deprivation measure. A significant decrease in the predictive ability of relative deprivation indicates a mediated effect (Baron and Kenny, 1986). In seven of the nine models, the explanatory power of relative deprivation decreased significantly with the addition of negative self-feeling. Poverty was a significant predictor of property crime in all nine models, both without and with the inclusion of negative self-feeling. Stiles et al. conclude that relative deprivation increases negative self-feeling, which in turn leads to crime.

Baron (2004) examines the effects of strain on property crime, violent crime and drug use. In so doing, he includes two operationalizations of relative deprivation as predictors. The first measure assessed the level of respondents' satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their monetary status. This assessment implies a comparison with others and represents a measure of relative deprivation that relates specifically to economic status. The second measure was broader in nature and asked respondents to give an overall ranking of themselves relative to others in Canadian society. Crime was measured using self report. The sample was 400 homeless youths from Vancouver. Regression analysis indicated that the monetary dissatisfaction operationalization of relative deprivation predicted property crime, while the second more inclusive operationalization predicted property and violent crime. Baron (2004) uses the same data set as Baron (2003) and has almost identical findings. Baron represents a test of Agnew's (1985, 1992 and 2001) revised strain theory.

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[6] *Many researchers use the terms "inequality" and "relative deprivation" synonymously. Both terms, however, refer to distinct constructs.*

The findings of Baron are consistent with Agnew et al. (1996), which represents a test of classic strain theory. In this respect, it should be noted that one of Agnew's operationalizations of strain, "failure to achieve positively valued goals" very closely resembles the operationalization of relative deprivation used by a number of researchers.

Grant and Brown (1995) conducted a double-blind experiment in which they manipulate collective relative deprivation and investigated its effects on participants' collective protest actions, counter-normative actions, derogatory out-group remarks, and hostility/dislike for the out-group. Such dependent measures acknowledge that the responses to relative deprivation may be cognitive, affective or behavioural. The respondents were 259 students who were organized into groups for the experiment. These students were selected by pre-test designed to select only those students who believed that women should be given more encouragement to apply for high-status jobs. In each experimental session, two groups were placed in adjoining rooms to facilitate the belief that an inter-group interaction was taking place. They were told that both groups' task was to discuss this issue and to develop a position statement for use by their university. Each group's statement would be evaluated by the other group, who would make recommendations for a payment between $3 to $13 per student. Students were further told that such payments are usually around $10, but rarely less than $8, thus creating an expectation that could be violated. The two groups never met directly; all communication was through a confederate. The "evaluation," which in fact came from the experimenters and not from the other group, was used to manipulate feelings of collective relative deprivation. Groups were randomly given positive (or negative) feedback and a payment of $10 (or $4) was recommended. The condition with negative feedback and a payment of $4 was supposed to induce feelings of relative deprivation. Just after this manipulation, collective relative deprivation was measured to verify if the manipulation was successful. The dependent variables were also measured. Group differences in the dependent measures for the relatively deprived and the non-deprived groups were compared. There were significant differences in all four dependent measures supporting the influence of relative deprivation.

Rosenfeld (1982) is one of the few studies which explores the relationship of relative deprivation to crime using structural rather than individual measures. The dependent variables are property and violent crimes. Controls include population size and per cent black. Relative deprivation is defined as the product of the intensity of deprivation, the scope of deprivation, and the level of economic aspirations among poor families in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Intensity refers to the degree of discrepancy or difference between economic capabilities and expectations, and is operationalized as the difference between the mean income of families below the poverty level and the mean income of all families in the SMSA. The scope of deprivation refers to the proportion of the population sharing some specified level of deprivation, and is operationalized as the percentage of families with incomes below the federal poverty level. Aspirations are measured by the ratio of median years of school completed by heads of poor families to median years of school completed by all family heads. This measure assumes that the economic aspirations of low-income people will vary directly with their educational attainment. This measure of relative deprivation has merit, since it assesses economic inequality within the context of level of economic aspirations. This measure successfully predicted homicide, rape, assault, burglary, larceny and auto theft, but not robbery. Notably, in this model, unemployment predicted burglary and larceny, but not the other crimes. Rosenfeld (1986) uses the same data set as Rosenfeld (1982), but employs a slight model re-specification (the southern region control variable is replaced by per cent black) and derives almost identical findings. The only differences are that relative deprivation no longer predicts auto theft, while unemployment does not predict any of the seven crimes.

Not all researchers have discovered significant relationships between relative deprivation and crime. Burton et al. (1994) examine the relationship of three operationalizations of strain to self-reported crime using a sample of 555 adults. Crime here is classified as utilitarian and non-utilitarian, which broadly overlap with property and violent crimes respectively. The operationalizations of strain are: economic aspiration/expectation disparities, blocked opportunities and relative deprivation. Relative deprivation measures respondents' assessment of their economic situation relative to comparison others in their reference group. It should be noted that the aspiration/expectation measure of strain is considered to be an alternative operationalization of relative deprivation (Gurr, 1970). Initial analysis, using age, sex, and income as controls, reveal that blocked opportunities and relative deprivation, but not the aspiration/expectation measure, were significant predictors of crime. Burton et al. then include measures from competing theories (low self-control, differential association and social bond) in this model. Relative deprivation and blocked opportunities became non-significant for both utilitarian and non-utilitarian crime. Baron and Kenny (1986) point out, however, that if a mediating variable is entered into a regression model, the predictive power of the independent variable (here relative deprivation) decreases in the case of partial mediation, and becomes non-significant in the case of full mediation. Researchers have argued that relative deprivation may have an effect on crime through its effect of weakening social bonds (Kennedy et al. 1998). That is, relative deprivation weakens social bonds and decreases interpersonal trust, which in turn encourages crime. It may not be, as Burton et al. (1994) conclude, that relative deprivation is not an important predictor of crime. Failure to consider the potential mediating role of social trust could have resulted in an erroneous conclusion by these authors.

Policy Implications

Anomie theory, general strain theory, and relative deprivation theory have identified various types of strain which may induce delinquency and youth violence. The basic principle common to all three theories is that strain creates pressures that necessitate coping behaviours. Under some conditions, these coping behaviours may be deviant. Institutional anomie theory adds to these theories by indicating that strain conditions may be perpetuated by a wide range of institutions in society, apart from the economy. These theories indicate that policy interventions need to address the various types *and* sources of strain in order to address the issue of youth violence. It should be borne in mind, however, that while these theories point to a wide range of sources and types of strain, policy interventions should focus primarily on those that have the strongest relationships to crime and delinquency and on those that are most cost-effective. Following is an examination of some of the types of strain identified by general strain theory and the policy implications that follow from them. Similar arguments hold for the other theories.

Agnew (2001) has identified the conditions which must be present for strain to result in crime and delinquency. He argues that straining events can lead to crime when they are 1) seen as unjust, 2) high in magnitude, 3) associated with low social control, and 4) create pressure or incentive for criminal coping. He has identified a number of strains which have such characteristics. Policy interventions may focus on these types of strains with the aim of reducing them and hence reducing deviant adaptations. In addition, policy interventions may focus on improving youths' ability to cope with the various types of strain. Some of the more important types of strain outlined by Agnew are examined next.

"The failure to achieve core goals that are not the result of conventional socialization and that are easily achieved through crime" can encourage delinquency (Agnew, 2001: 343). Such goals may include the desire for money, thrills/excitement, high levels of autonomy and masculine status. If barriers to achieving these goals are related to ascribed status, such as race or religion, people may see their inability to achieve such goals as unjust. This may encourage the adoption of illegitimate means to achieve these goals, since legitimate means are perceived to be blocked. Parental rejection is another strain likely to lead to deviant behaviour. Parental rejection creates strain "because it may seriously threaten many of the child's goals, values, needs, activities, and/or identities" (343). Parents who reject their children are more likely to model deviant and aggressive behaviours which may be learnt by children. Research has found that parental rejection is strongly related to delinquency (Sampson and Laub, 1993). Educating children about coping, and about what may be expected of them when they become parents in the future, may address this issue. Parental education also represents another area of focus. Another important type of strain identified by Agnew is supervision or discipline that is very strict, harsh, erratic or excessive given the infraction. Such discipline is likely to be seen as high in magnitude and unjust. Such sanctions do not function as effective controls and, importantly, may serve to undermine attachments and commitments to conventional values, others, and institutions. Additionally, the sanctioning agent models aggressive behaviour to the youth involved. "Data indicate that parents, school officials, and possibly criminal justice officials who employ this type of discipline/supervision increase the likelihood of crime" (Agnew, 2001: 344). Other forms of strain that induce deviance include child neglect and abuse, negative secondary school experiences, work in the secondary labour market, homelessness, abusive peer relations, criminal victimization, and experiences with prejudice and discrimination based on ascribed characteristics such as race. Policy interventions may focus on reducing such strains and in improving youths' abilities to cope with such strains in an attempt to reduce youth violence.

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Chapter 8:

Social Learning Theories[7]

The development of social learning theory can be traced back to the work of Robert L. Burgess and Ronald L. Akers in 1966, as presented in their work entitled "A differential association-reinforcement theory of criminal behaviour" This work combined the earlier sociological theory of differential association with the developmental psychological theory of reinforcement. This area of study became part of mainstream criminology with the publication of Ronald L. Akers' work entitled "Deviant Behaviour: A Social Learning Approach" in 1973. Over the last 30 years, social learning theory has remained an important part of our understanding of both criminal and non-criminal behaviour, as is demonstrated by its repeated presence in various textbooks and edited volumes looking at deviant and non-deviant behaviour. The theory is also arguably one of the most tested contemporary theories of crime and deviance and has undergone considerable elaboration and testing since the 1970s. The theory has more recently attempted to "link the processual variables [of] the theory to macro-level and meso-level social structural variables.... in an effort to provide an explanation of crime and delinquency" (Akers and Jensen, 2003: 9).

This section will begin by providing an explanation of social learning theory and the critiques associated with this perspective. It will follow with an examination of the application of social learning theory in current research findings and will conclude with a discussion of the policy implications of adopting a social learning perspective.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theories can be broadly understood as a social behavioural approach that emphasizes the "reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral and environmental determinants" of human behaviour (Bandura, 1977: vii). In the study of crime and criminality, social learning theory is generally applied and understood as it was conceptualized by Ronald L. Akers in 1973.

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[7] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Carolyn Greene, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Social learning theory is a general theory of crime and criminality and has been used in research to explain a diverse array of criminal behaviours. The theory as proposed by Akers is centred around the idea that "the same learning process in a context of social structure, interaction, and situation produces both conforming and deviant behavior. The difference lies in the direction … [of] the balance of influences on the behavior" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 85).

Social learning theory is best summarized by its leading proponent, Ronald L. Akers (1998):

> The probability that persons will engage in criminal and deviant behaviour is increased and the probability of their conforming to the norm is decreased when they differentially associate with others who commit criminal behavior and espouse definitions favorable to it, are relatively more exposed in-person or symbolically to salient criminal/deviant models, define it as desirable or justified in a situation discriminative for the behavior, and have received in the past and anticipate in the current or future situation relatively greater reward than punishment for the behavior (50).

The conceptualization of social learning theory embodies within it four fundamental premises that include differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement and imitation (Akers and Sellers, 2004). The following section will examine these premises as they relate to the more general social learning theory.

Differential Association

Differential association theory can be understood as comprising two important dimensions. The first dimension is behavioural-interactional and explains deviance as being produced through "direct association and interaction with others who engage in certain kinds of behavior; as well as … indirect association and identification with more distant reference groups" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 85). The people or groups with whom an individual is in social contact, either directly or indirectly, are seen as providing the social context under which each of the four premises of social learning theory functions. That is, within this social context, individuals are exposed to varying definitions of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, as well as a variety of behavioural models that may differentially reinforce criminal and non-criminal behaviour. These models may also serve as a source for the imitating of behaviour.

The people or groups with whom an individual associates are broken up into primary and secondary sources by social learning theorists. Primary associations include those with immediate family and friends. Secondary sources of social learning include a much wider range of people and would include, for example, teachers, neighbours, and church groups. Each of these groups is thought to contribute to the attitudes and values an individual adopts, as well as to how that person behaves in various social contexts.

It is generally understood, under the theory of differential association, that the timing, length, frequency and nature of the contact are important determinants of behaviour. That is, the greatest effect on a person's behaviour occurs the earlier the association is made, the longer the duration of the association, the more frequently the association occurs, and the closer the association is (Akers and Sellers, 2004). From a social learning perspective, then, associations made early on with family would arguably play an important role in shaping one's behaviour.

Definitions

Definitions, as they are to be understood under social learning theory, are an individual's own values and attitudes about what is and is not acceptable behaviour . That is, "they are orientations, rationalizations, definitions of the situation, and other evaluative and moral attitudes that define the commission of an act as right or wrong, good or bad, desirable or undesirable, justified or unjustified" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 86). These attitudes and values are learned and reinforced through the process of differential association.

Social learning theory links attitudes and values to the influence of general and specific definitions. General definitions would include broad beliefs about conforming behaviour that is influenced principally through conventional norms, as well as religious and moral values (Akers and Sellers, 2004). These beliefs are thought generally to be those that do not support the commission of criminal or deviant acts. Specific definitions are seen as those that "orient a person to particular acts or a series of acts"(Akers and Sellers, 2004: 86). The main premise behind this notion of definitions is that the greater the number of definitions favourable to deviant or criminal behaviour, the greater the likelihood that an individual will take part in that type of conduct. Social learning theory also accounts for conforming behaviour to the extent that the greater the number of definitions favourable to conventional norms, the less likely an individual is to engage in deviant or criminal acts. It is conceivable within this understanding of social learning that an individual could adopt conforming attitudes and values about certain behaviours while at the same time develop attitudes and values that justify or excuse some types of non-conforming behaviours.

In explaining criminal behaviour, definitions are seen as either approving of or neutralizing the behaviour. Definitions that are approving generally frame criminal behaviour in a positive light, whereas neutralizing definitions act as a means of justifying and/or excusing some or all forms of criminal conduct (Akers and Sellers, 2004)."Cognitively, definitions favorable to deviance provide a mind-set that makes one more willing to commit the act when the opportunity occurs or is created. Behaviorally, they affect the commission of deviant behavior by acting as internal discriminative stimuli" (Akers and Silverman, 2004: 20). It is important to note that an individual who has adopted approving or neutralizing definitions of deviant behaviour does not necessarily have to act on them. It is instead an interactional process whereby conventional norms may be weakly held, thereby providing little or no restraint against criminal behaviour, and definitions that are favourable to deviant conduct "facilitate law violation in the right set of circumstances" (Akers and Silverman, 2004: 21). Consequently, the context under which these behaviours take place is redefined in light of these approving and neutralizing definitions.

Differential Reinforcement

Differential reinforcement can be broadly understood as the process by which individuals experience and anticipate the consequences of their behaviours. That is, a person's actions are in part determined by what they perceive the consequences of their action or lack of action will be. "Whether individuals will refrain from or commit a crime at any given time (and whether they will continue or desist from doing it in the future) depends on the past, present, and anticipated future rewards and punishments for their actions" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 87).

Reinforcement of attitudes, beliefs, and values occurs through both differential association and imitation and can be either positive or negative. Positive reinforcement occurs when actions are rewarded through positive reactions to the behaviour as well as through positive outcomes. Positive reinforcement can increase the likelihood of criminal behaviour through these rewards. Negative reinforcement, on the other hand, involves the removal of negative consequences or responses, and this may also increase the likelihood of taking certain actions.

The degree to which differential reinforcement occurs is related to the degree, frequency and probability of its occurrence. That is, reinforcement is most likely to happen and contribute to repetition of the behaviour when it occurs with greater value, occurs frequently as a consequence of the behaviour, and when the probability that the behaviour will be reinforced is greater (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 87). Reinforcement can occur directly and indirectly. For example, direct reinforcement would be the result of the effects of drug or alcohol consumption, while indirect reinforcement would occur through, for example, anticipation of rewards valued in subgroups. This notion of indirect reinforcement is important for understanding the role of symbolic social rewards and punishments. However, the most important reinforcements tend to be social (resulting from interactions with peer groups and family members).

Imitation

Imitation, as its name implies, is the notion that individuals engage in behaviour that they have previously witnessed others doing. The extent to which behaviours are imitated is determined in large part by the "characteristics of the models, the behavior observed, and the observed consequences of the behavior" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 88). The literature has indicated that witnessing the actions of others, in particular people that are close to us, can affect our participation in both conforming and non-conforming behaviours (Donnerstein and Linz, 1995). Imitation has also been found to be "more important in the initial acquisition and performance of novel behavior than in its maintenance or cessation of behavioral patterns once established" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 89).

Critiques

One of the major criticisms of social learning theory pertains to its principal concept that increased associations with deviant peers increases the likelihood that an individual will adopt attitudes and values favourable to criminal conduct through the mechanism of rewards and punishments. The critique centres around the temporal ordering of the adoption of deviant attitudes and behaviours and the association with other deviant peers.

Social learning theory is premised on the idea that it is association with others (family and friends) that contributes to the learning and subsequent acceptance of deviant conduct. It has instead been suggested that young people may develop these deviant attitudes and values without prior exposure to it and then seek out peers with similar attitudes and behaviours. The general theory of crime posits that an individual's propensity to crime (as exemplified by low self-control) is stable throughout the life course and it is the opportunities for crime that change (Siegel and McCormick, 2006). More specifically,

> Individuals with low self-control do not tend to make good friends. They are unreliable, untrustworthy, selfish, and thoughtless. They may, however, be fun to

> be with; they are certainly more risk taking, more adventuresome, and reckless than their counterparts. It follows that self-control is a major factor in determining membership in adolescent peer groups and in determining the quality of the relationships among the members of such groups. We would expect those children who devote considerable time to the peer group to be more likely to be delinquent. We would also expect those children with close relationships within a peer group to be less likely to be delinquent (Gottfredson and Hirshi, 1990: 157–158).

The problem is a causal one. That is, the cause of the delinquency, from a critic's point of view, is not associations with deviant peers. Instead, delinquent behaviour or attitudes favourable to it are established before group contact (Akers and Sellers, 2004). From this perspective, individuals with low self-control seek out similar peers.

Social learning theorists have responded to this criticism by stating that development of delinquent attitudes and behaviour prior to association with deviant peers is not inconsistent with the theory because group associations still influence behaviour (even if delinquency precedes the group membership) (Akers and Sellers, 2004). In addition, longitudinal research has shown that, in addition to the persistence of delinquency, peer group associations are related to the onset of delinquent behaviour (see Lacourse et al., 2003).

The criticism that relationships among delinquent peers tend to be weak and involve loose affiliations has also been countered in the literature. Research in this area has shown that these relationships may not be as weak as suggested by critics. For example, Gillis and Hagan (1990) found that delinquent peers tend to demonstrate greater loyalty to friends and family than their conventional peers do (cited in Wortley, 1996). In addition, Kandel and Davies (1991), in a study of illicit drug-users and non-users, found that more frequent drug-users tended to have closer relationships with their drug-using peers than non-users did with their conventional peers (cited in Wortley, 1996). This research suggests delinquent peers do form close relationships with one another, and in turn, these relationships may indeed facilitate the onset and persistence of delinquency.

Recent Research Findings

Social learning theory has been applied in numerous studies and its theoretical value has been supported by the strong relationships found between social learning concepts and criminal behaviours. The concepts of differential association, definitions, imitation, and differential reinforcement have been explored separately, as well in various combinations in the research literature. Of these social learning concepts, differential association has been examined most frequently and has consistently been shown to be a significant factor in explaining criminal and deviant behaviours (see Arriaga and Foshee, 2004; Clingempeel and Henggeler, 2003; Conway and McCord, 2002; Daigle et al., 2007; Haynie et al,. 2006; Herrenkohl et al., 2001; Hochstetler et al., 2001; Losel et al., 2007; Sellers et al., 2003; Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2003; Wiesner et al., 2003). Research has also shown support, though more moderately, for definitions, imitation and differential reinforcement as social learning concepts (see Baron et al., 2001; Bellair et al. 2003; Graham and Wells, 2003; Herrenkohl et al., 2001; Huang et al., 2001). It is worth noting that the relationships between social learning variables or concepts and criminal behaviour have generally been shown to be "strong to moderate, and [that] there has been very little negative evidence [found in the research] … literature" (Sellers and Akers, 2004: 92).

Studies of social learning theory as it relates to behaviour are wide-ranging in terms of the types of behaviours typically examined. The range includes, but is not limited to, childhood and adolescent aggression, intimate partner violence, drug and alcohol use, terrorism, and other violent and non-violent criminal behaviour. Social learning variables have been found to explain these aforementioned behaviours in numerous studies (see Akers and Silvcrman, 2004; Akers et al., 1989; Barak, 2004; Boeringer et al., 1991; Jensen and Akers, 2003; Silverman, 2002). Two areas of this research that have received considerable attention in the literature and are worth further exploring are how associations with family and friends impact behaviour.

The Role of Family

The research literature has consistently found that there is a strong relationship between childhood experiences of violence in the family and early childhood aggression, and a more moderate relationship between these experiences and adolescent aggression (see Gover, 2002; Hotton, 2003; Unnever and Agnew, 2006; Herrenkohl et al., 2001, Loeber et al., 2005; Loeber and Hay, 1997; Moffit and Caspi, 2001; Rappaport and Thomas, 2004). Work by Hotton (2003) that looked at childhood aggression and exposure to violence in the home found that childhood aggression and exposure to violence in the home was significantly related to aggressive behaviour among children. The study used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), developed by Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada. Hotton (2003) found that approximately 32 per cent of children exposed to violence were considered highly aggressive, compared with 16 per cent of non-exposed children. The study also revealed that hostile and ineffective parenting practices were related to higher levels of child aggression. Interestingly, the study also found that high levels of aggressive behaviour declined as children got older, and this was consistent for both children who were and were not exposed to violence in the home.

The finding that aggression in childhood diminishes in adolescence is consistent with existing literature (see Herrenkohl, 2003; Loeber and Stouthamer-Loebe, 1998; Moffitt and Caspi, 2001). And while research has demonstrated that early aggression as learned through family exposure diminishes over time, it is still found to be a moderate predictor of aggressive behaviour in adolescence and early adulthood. Loeber et al. (2005) examined predictors of violence and homicide in young men in an American city and found that poor and unstable child-rearing practices were factors that contributed to the prediction of violent behaviour in the future. The study was conducted in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and utilized data from a longitudinal, multiple cohort study of delinquency development among boys that included 1,517 participants. The poor and unstable child-rearing practices that were found to predict violence included two or more caretaker changes prior to 10 years of age, physical punishment, poor supervision, and poor communication within the family.

The Role of Peers

Exposure to violence in the family may be a stronger predictor of aggression in childhood than it is in adolescence. Peer influences, however, appear to be more important in adolescence. Research on adolescent aggression has shown that exposure to violent or delinquent peers, over and above the influence of family, are stronger predictors of violence among adolescents.

Arriaga and Foshee (2004), in a study of intimate violence, examined the relationship between dating violence and friends involved in or supportive of this type of violence and inter-parental violence. The study found that while both variables were significant predictors, the effect of friend dating violence on the dating behaviours of adolescents was stronger than the effect of inter-parental violence. This finding is consistent with other research that indicates the power of peer influences on behaviour during adolescence (see Herrenkohl et al., 2003). This finding has also been shown to be consistent when looking at aggression across gender. Daigle et al. (2007) examined gender differences in the predictors of juvenile delinquency. The study used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a national school-based panel study of adolescents in grades 7 to 12 in the United States between 1994 and 1996. The study found that the factors that predicted delinquency were similar for both boys and girls, and that the most significant predictor for both was the number of delinquent peers they interacted with. Negative peer associations, then, appear to be better predictors of delinquency and aggression in adolescence than negative family experiences are.

Research has also looked at the temporal ordering of the onset of delinquent behaviour and shown that associations with delinquent peers appears to precede the onset of delinquent behaviour. For example, Lacourse et al. (2003), in a longitudinal study of the developmental trajectories of boys' delinquent group membership and facilitation of violent behaviours during adolescence, found that delinquent peer groups were associated with the onset and frequency of violent behaviour in adolescence. The study used data from the Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study, which tracked all male students in kindergarten classes, beginning in 1984, from 53 Montreal elementary schools in low socio-economic areas. The sample that was used in this study comprised 715 respondents, who were assessed between the ages of 11 and 17. The results indicated, more specifically, that as a group, individuals who associated with delinquent peers during childhood or during adolescence committed more violence than the group who did not develop these delinquent peer associations. Those who formed delinquent peer associations during childhood, and thus were involved with these groups the longest, showed the highest rates of violence. Transitioning out of a delinquent peer group was also shown to be associated with a decrease in violent behaviour. Over all, this study showed that involvement with delinquent peer groups during childhood and during adolescence facilitated the onset of violent behaviour, and this effect was stable throughout adolescence.

Ulrich (2003), in a comprehensive review of the literature, found that the strongest cause of violent behaviour onset identified in the literature was association with delinquent peer groups, where violence was both modelled and rewarded. Weak social ties to conventional peers and affiliation with anti-social delinquent peers were found to be strong predictors of violence, and the impact was consistently found to be greater for adolescents than for younger children. Ulrich (2003) also finds strong support in the literature for a relationship between aggressive children being rejected by their non-aggressive peers and an increase in their deviant peer networks, the result of which tends to lead to a reduction in positive peer interactions and increases the likelihood of deviant or violent behaviours.

Social learning theory explains the onset of deviant and criminal behaviour, but it can also explain transition into conforming behaviours. Clinigempeel and Henggeler (2003), in a study of aggressive juvenile offenders transitioning into adulthood, found that the quality of the relationships the young people had with others was significantly related to their desistence or persistence in criminal conduct. The study tracked 80 young people between the ages of 12 and 17, over a five-year period, in Charleston, South Carolina. The findings showed that after the five-year period, youth who committed the fewest and least-serious acts of aggression also reported significantly more emotional support and higher-quality relationships with others.

Though the relationships are different, the literature clearly shows that family and peer interactions play an important role in the onset and maintenance of delinquent and criminal conduct. Violence in the home during childhood is predictive of aggression in childhood and, in part, adolescence. Interestingly, learned aggressive behaviours in childhood diminish as children age. What appears to be most important in adolescence is interaction with negative peer groups. That is, while negative family experiences might explain some of an adolescent's delinquency, his or her association with negative peer influences appears to be able to explain delinquency far better (even when the young person has not experienced violence in the home).

Policy Implications

The support social learning theory has generated in the research literature has important implications for policy. From a social learning perspective, deviant and criminal conduct is learned and sustained via associations with family and peer networks. If one agrees that this is the source of such behaviour, then it follows that these behaviours could be modified "to the extent that one is able to manipulate those same processes or the environmental contingencies that impinge on them" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 101). From this perspective, policy-makers should focus on developing and implementing preventive and rehabilitative programs that use social learning variables to change behaviour in a positive direction. Examples of programs guided by social learning principles include mentoring, behavioural modification, delinquency prevention, peer counseling and gang interventions. The idea behind some of these types of programs is that providing positive experiences and role models for young people serves to expose them to conventional norms and values that might diminish future delinquent or criminal acts.

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Chapter 9:

The Subculture of Violence[8]

The search for the social causes of violence has been an ongoing preoccupation of criminologists since the early 20th century, when researchers attempted to look beyond biological and psychological explanations to understand crime. The shift in understanding violence as a social phenomenon, rather than an individual one, emerged from observations that incidents of violence tend to not be evenly distributed within society. Rather, rates of crime and violence vary spatially and demographically. The endeavour to understand these patterns has generated a range of theories that highlight various social processes, including how crime is learned and taught and how it emerges from social inequalities. Amongst these various explanations, few have been as durable as the explanation of culture.

Cultural explanations for violence first emerged in the works of American delinquency theorists in the 1930s who were attempting to account for the concentrations of crime and violence in poor, urban African-American neighbourhoods in the 1930s. Sellin (1938), Miller (1958) and Cohen (1951) were amongst the first of many cultural deviance theorists to develop the concept of a criminal subculture and to link it to social problems such as poverty and inequality. However, it was not until the late 1960s that Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) launched a distinct and comprehensive subculture of violence thesis. Possibly the most well-known theory in this genre of work, Wolfgang and Ferracuti's *Subculture of Violence* attempted to outline a methodological framework for the empirical examination of violent subcultures. Central to their discussion was the idea that higher rates of violence amongst lower-class and racialized populations could be explained by the fact that these groups have embraced values and norms that are more permissive of violence. This theorization assumes the existence of distinct subcultural, pro-violent values that develop in opposition to dominant or middle-class norms and values.

This literature review will provide a detailed discussion of the subculture of violence thesis and trace its development from the work of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) to its more current applications. Though the subculture of violence thesis was originally devised to explain and examine high rates of violence amongst structurally marginalized populations and neighbourhoods, since then, this framework has been applied and evaluated in relation to a variety of other demographics and locales, such as the American South (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996; Hayes, 2005), athletes (Smith, 1979), middle schools and high schools within the United States and Iceland (Felson et al., 1994; Bernburg and Thorlindsson, 2005; Ousey and Wilcox, 2005). In addition, many have also continued with Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) original focus and have attempted to determine the existence of a Black subculture of violence (Anderson, 1999; Stewart and Simons, 2006; Brezina et al., 2004; Cao et al., 1997). This discussion will explore the implications of these findings and whether there is adequate support to suggest the existence of a subculture of violence.

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[8] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Rashmee Singh, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Values, Norms and Violence: The Subculture of Violence Thesis

In *The Subculture of Violence*, Wolfgang and Ferracuti draw upon Wolfgang's earlier work on inner-city African-American neighbourhoods in Philadelphia in order to formulate an operational definition of the concept of a subculture. The key objective of their work is to develop a way to identify and measure subcultures of violence in order to scientifically prove their existence. In order to do so, the authors propose an integrated methodological and theoretical approach, which involves drawing from a variety of existing criminological theories as well as from insights from sociology and psychology.

With regard to explaining how subcultures cause violence, Wolfgang and Ferracuti argue that violence is a product of conformity to a pro-violent subculture that is in direct conflict with the dominant culture. While they do not suggest that subcultures are in total conflict with the societies of which they are a part, the authors note that the "overt use of force or violence, either in interpersonal relationships or in group interaction, is generally viewed as a reflection of basic values that stand apart from the dominant, the central or parent culture" (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 158). Wolfgang and Ferracuti offer no explanation as to how subcultures of violence evolve in the first place, despite their assertions that they tend to be a lower-class, racialized and masculine phenomenon.

The proliferation of violence within this context is believed to result from a tendency amongst subcultural offenders to embrace values and norms that are more permissive of the use of violence under certain conditions. Implicit in this proposition is the concept of disputatiousness, which suggests that violence is a central means for subcultural affiliates to maintain and protect their status. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, violent reactions to perceived threats to reputation or honour are culturally prescribed, given that a failure to react defensively may result in life-threatening consequences. In this sense, violent values act as a mechanism of social control, given that they require members of a subculture to engage in violence for their own protection and survival. As a result, equipped with the values to justify their violent actions, subcultural offenders engage in violence frequently and guiltlessly, with little provocation (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 314).

Though they draw from the insights of cultural deviance theorists before them, empirically Wolfgang and Ferracuti base their theorizations entirely upon inferences from available statistics on homicide at that time, which illustrated a concentration of violent crime in primarily poor, racialized neighbourhoods in Philadelphia. Through these statistics, the authors deduce that subcultural violence is a uniquely marginalized male phenomenon. As opposed to the random and anomalous violence of the "mainstream" world, this particular strain of violence, they argue, is a collective phenomenon, a normal experience for poor, non-white men.

The proposed methodology in *The Subculture of Violence* focuses on identifying "pro-violent" values. It is believed that the observation of values will, in turn, provide insight into the group norms, since the latter sustains the former through rewarding conformity and penalizing non-conformity. Thus, individual action, attitude and perception are considered to be the key to understanding the collective phenomena of culture. With this in mind, Wolfgang and Ferracuti propose the following:

> We suggest that, by identifying the groups with the highest rates of homicide, we should find in the most intense degree subcultures of violence; and, having focused on these groups we should subsequently examine the value system of their subculture, the importance of human life in the scale of values, the kinds of expected reaction to certain types of stimulus, perceptual differenced in the evaluation of stimuli, and the general personality structure of the subcultural actors (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967: 153).

Thus, following the identification of a potential subculture of violence based on statistics indicating concentrations of violence amongst marginalized men, whether "pro-violent" values are in existence should be assessed through determinations of whether there is collective approval, encouragement and reward for engaging in violence. Finally, in order to examine whether a variance exists between suspected subcultural offenders and middle-class individuals, Wolfgang and Ferracuti propose measuring "social values using a ratio scale (as in psychophysics) focused on items concerned with behavioural displays of violence" (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 315). Although they do not actually apply their methods or test their thesis in *The Subculture of Violence*, the authors express certainty regarding the potential of their method to identify subcultural offenders, predict who might become a subcultural offender, and ascertain the location of such offenders (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 315).

Empirical Examinations of the Subculture of Violence Thesis

Over the past three decades, the subculture of violence thesis has undergone considerable scrutiny, given that Wolfgang and Ferracuti's claims at the time they were writing were, for the most part, unsubstantiated. Those who have undertaken evaluations of this framework have pointed out the tautological or circular reasoning that underlies the assumed link between violent values and violent actions and the importance of analyzing individual data on values in order to asses the validity of this thesis (Erlanger, 1974; Kornhauser, 1978). In addition, Wolfgang and Ferracuti's assertions have been widely criticized for perpetuating stereotypes of young African-American males, for failing to consider the emergence of subcultures of violence, and for their theoretical negligence of social structural factors in their discussions of root causes of violence (Convington, 2003; Surratt et al., 2004).

Many of the studies that have evaluated the subculture of violence thesis do not test it in its entirety. Rather, most examine elements of this perspective, focusing on specific propositions such as the contention that there is a link between violent behaviour and violent values. So far, empirical evaluations of Wolfgang and Ferracuti's propositions have not yielded conclusive support for the subculture of violence thesis. This section will review some of the most widely cited tests of this framework, as well as more recent applications of this theory which attempt to go beyond the purviews of Wolfgang and Ferracuti's original propositions regarding the specificity of subcultural violence to lower-class, racialized men. This discussion will be followed by a review of some of the more in-depth evaluations of whether the subculture of violence thesis is an appropriate explanation for the high rates of violence amongst poverty-stricken black neighbourhoods in the United States. Finally, recent studies evaluating the existence of a subculture of violence in the southern United States will be reviewed in detail.

Ball-Rokeach (1973) conducted one of the earliest examinations of the subculture of violence thesis, focusing specifically on whether individuals who engage in violence hold favourable attitudes towards violence and are committed to subcultural, pro-violent values (Ball-Rokeach, 1973: 737). She notes the distinctions between the concepts of "values" and "attitudes." While the former is defined as "a belief either about a 'desired end-state of existence," "or a belief about a 'preferred mode of conduct" such as being honest, courageous or loving," "attitude" is defined as "an organization of beliefs about a specific object, ... or about an ongoing belief about an ongoing activity or situation"

(Ball-Rokeach, 1974: 737). Ball-Rokeach tests the hypothesized relationships between violent values, attitudes and violent behaviour through two independent studies. The first involves assessing the values and attitudes underlying interpersonal violence in a probability sample of 1,429 adult Americans, and the second consists of examining disparities in values amongst 363 male offenders incarcerated for various violent and non-violent crimes (Ball-Rokeach, 1973: 737). An additional component of the first study entailed determinations of the degree to which participants in the national sample engaged in violent actions and behaviours. In the latter study, the key objective was to determine whether violent and non-violent offenders do in fact hold differing values towards violence.

The extent to which respondents engaged in violence in the first study was assessed through self-report questions about their participation and experiences in interpersonal violence as both assailants and victims. In the second, engagement in violence was assessed through distinguishing between those offenders who were convicted of violent offences and those who were not. Ball-Rokeach determined whether participants in the national sample held pro-violent attitudes through their responses to three hypothetical scenarios. Respondents were asked whether they approve of the use of violence in the following scenarios: "a teenage boy punching or beating another teenage boy;" "a public school teacher hitting a student;" and "a judge sentencing a person to death" (Ball-Rokeach, 1973: 738). Whether those who engaged in violence in both the national and prison samples were motivated by pro-violent values was assessed through a value survey compiled by Ball-Rokeach in an earlier study. For this portion of the experiment, respondents were asked to rank, in order of priority, a list of concepts that are indicative of various human values, as well as a variety of human characteristics they found important or appealing. The survey did not include values specific to the use of violence for the purposes of protecting or maintaining reputation amongst peers.

With regard to the national sample, the researchers found no correlation between participation in violence and attitudes towards violence, leading them to reject the hypothesis that pro-violent attitudes lead to violent behaviour. Respondents who had engaged in violence at one point in their lives were no more likely to approve of the use of violence within the given hypothetical scenarios. With regard to her assessment of a causal relationship between values and participation in violence, Ball-Rokeach found that amongst participants in the national sample, those who "report moderate or high participation [in violence] place significantly more importance on An Exciting Life, Mature Love and Being Imaginative" and "less importance on Social Recognition, A Comfortable Life and A World at Peace" (Ball-Rokeach, 1973: 739). Ball-Rokeach interprets these findings as lending little support to the proposition that violent values are conducive to violent behaviour. She argues that if individuals who engage in violence do indeed hold the machismo values that Wolfgang and Ferracuti claim generate violence, it is more likely that these respondents would express a commitment to experiences associated with the idealized masculine persona, such as "An Exciting Life, Pleasure, Social Recognition, being Courageous and Independent" (Ball-Rokeach, 1974: 741). A lack of commitment to values characterized as "non-machismo," such as being forgiving, would lend further support to the subculture of violence thesis. Though individuals who engaged in violence expressed some commitment to "An Exciting Life," Ball-Rokeach advises that the differences in commitment to this value amongst this group and those that did not engage in violence was minimal (Ball-Rokeach, 1974: 741). Similar findings were apparent in relation to the value comparison experiment amongst violent and non-violent offenders in the prison sample.

Finally, although she did not intend to test for this, Ball-Rokeach notes her supplementary finding that questions Wolfgang and Ferracuti's assumption of a correlation between socio-economic status and violent conduct. In contrast to the expected correlation between approval of violence and lower-class status, Ball-Rokeach found a more significant relationship between pro-violent attitudes and education (Ball-Rokeach, 1973: 743). Thus, Ball-Rokeach concludes that "the relatively weak association between attitudes and violent behaviour (hypothesis 1) taken together with the fact that there is little or no evidence of a relationship between values and violent behaviour (hypothesis 2), suggests that the subculture of violence thesis is, at best, incomplete and at worst, invalid as an explanation of violent behaviour" (Ball-Rokeach, 1973: 748).

It is important to note some distinctions between Wolfgang and Ferracuti's original propositions and Ball-Rokeach's research design. In so doing, whether Ball-Rokeach's study is a valid test of the subculture of violence thesis should be considered. First, Wolfgang and Ferracuti do not suggest that all those who participate in violence have violent values. Rather, they argue that only subcultural offenders hold pro-violent values. This serves as the basis of their assertion that empirical assessments of their thesis should only be conducted on those offenders who are believed to be part of this subgroup. As noted earlier, Wolfgang and Ferracuti argue that those enmeshed within a subculture of violence are more likely to be low-income racialized men. In her study, Ball-Rokeach employs a random sample of men in the general population, which does not serve as an accurate sample for the purposes of this analysis.

An additional problem emerges in relation to Ball-Rokeach's examination and interpretation of subcultural pro-violent values. This study does not take the idea of disputatiousness into consideration, which is central to understanding the use of violence within subcultures. Wolfgang and Ferracuti assert that the key difference between subcultural violent offenders and general violent offenders is that for the former group, violence for the purposes of protecting or maintaining reputation is not considered to be wrong. Rather, it is encouraged. Thus, a more precise evaluation of the subculture of violence proposition regarding the relationship between violent behaviour and pro-violent values should reflect this instrumental understanding of violence. The scenarios used in Ball-Rokeach's study to assess whether research participants had engaged in violence are too general. Rather than inquiring about how research participants felt about violence in reaction to a "jostle, a slightly derogatory remark, or the appearance of a weapon in the hands of an adversary," which Wolfgang and Ferracuti suggest are "stimuli differentially perceived" by subcultural offenders, Ball-Rokeach analyzes participant approval for general violence amongst teenage boys, corporal punishment, and capital punishment (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 153).

In another early study of the subculture of violence thesis, Erlanger (1974) examines structural differences in attitudes towards violence and attempts to go beyond studying the influence of pro-violent values through considering the impact of norms on violent behaviour. He tests Wolfgang and Ferracuti's proposition that African-American and lower-class men are more likely to hold subcultural values condoning violence than white and middle class men are. In addition, through a consideration of the influence of norms, Erlanger examines whether those participants who report engaging in violence are motivated by peer pressure, sanctions or a desire to impress their peers. He assesses the role of pro-violence norms in the occurrence of violence through studying how those who have engaged in violence view their conduct and their "perceived esteem accorded by others" (Erlanger, 1974: 284).

Erlanger relies on data from a 1969 survey involving both African-American and white males between the ages of 21 and 64, in which respondents were asked about their participation in violence and their perceived status within their peer group. Participation in violence was gauged through the following question: "How often do you get in angry fist fights with other men" (Erlanger, 1974: 284)? The perceived status was determined through responses to the following questions: "How do you compare with most men you know on being respected and listened to by other people? How do you compare with most men you know on being well liked by other people and having lots of friends" (Erlanger, 1974: 284)?

Erlanger's findings suggest some support for the subculture of violence thesis with regard to participation in violence. He found that racially and economically marginalized men were more likely to participate in violence than white and middle class men were (Erlanger, 1974: 285). In addition, with regard to the question of norms, his findings illustrate that "low-income blacks and low-income whites show a positive net effect of fighting on perceived esteem" (Erlanger, 1974: 286). However, Erlanger hesitates to embrace the subculture framework, arguing that his findings are not statistically significant. While the relationship between violence and perceived self-esteem was relatively weak, evidence supporting a counter-norm of non-violence amongst the white middle-class participants was also minimal. Based on the weak support for these predicted patterns, he argues that "none of the predictions of the subcultural theory is supported" (Erlanger, 1974: 286).

Although Erlanger offers a more precise study of Wolfgang and Ferracuti's framework, his research design is not without its flaws. One problem lies in Erlanger's reliance on a general question about fist-fighting to evaluate his research participants' engagement in violence, rather than on one that captures the concept of disputatiousness. In addition, though Erlanger attempts to assess disputatiousness through relating participation in violence to self-esteem, the assumed link between self-esteem and violence in this study is debatable. It can be argued that factors other than participation in violence may impact an individual's self-esteem, which might influence how questions were answered. Given this possibility, questions about self-esteem may not say much about whether participants in violence are under the influence of pro-violent norms.

Subcultures of Violence, Peer Support and Social Control

Despite Wolfgang and Ferracuti's propositions that subcultures are most likely to develop amongst marginalized populations, some of the more recent evaluations of the subculture of violence thesis have examined its relevance within a variety of contexts and amongst diverse populations. The following section will review the findings of three studies that were conducted amongst middle and high school students in the United States and Iceland. All explore the impact of group norms on levels of violence and the presumed relationship between violent values and violent behaviour. While Felson et al. (1994) and Berburg and Thorlindsson (2005) found some support for a link between group norms and values permissive of violence and violent behaviour, Ousey and Wilcox (2005) found the opposite to be true. Finally, all three studies raise doubts about the role of socialization processes in the transmission of subcultural violence. While Ousey and Wilcox (2005) point to the importance of considering additional factors such as impulsivity and exposure to violent peers, the other two studies suggest the significance of social control processes in encouraging disputatiousness amongst subcultural affiliates.

The degree to which group norms exert an influence on individuals who commit violence has been the subject of more recent evaluations of the subculture of violence thesis. One of the most widely cited studies in this genre is one conducted by Felson et al. (1994) on high school students in the early 1990s. Felson et al. are interested in the "process by which the subculture of violence operates," particularly in relation to degree to which subcultural values act as a mechanism of social control on group members

(Felson et al., 1994: 157). Rather than focusing on socialization processes, which theorize violence as an occurrence of the internalization of pro-violent values, the authors examine Wolfgang and Ferracuti's related proposition that subcultural violence may also result from a desire or need to defend or maintain honour. By distinguishing between these two processes, Felson et al. make an analytic distinction between group and individual values and are able to control for the latter when examining the causal relationship between values and violence.

Felson et al. conducted two waves of interviews with male high school students across 87 high schools. In the first wave, 2,213 sophomore males were interviewed. Of the original group, 1,886 students participated in the second round of interviews. The researchers relied on personal interviews as well as questionnaires in order to obtain data on their subjects' participation in acts of interpersonal violence, theft and vandalism, and general delinquent behaviour. Information on the degree to which research participants engaged in violent or aggressive actions to maintain honour or viewed violence as a legitimate reaction to some form of provocation was obtained through their responses to a variety of hypothetical scenarios. For each, research participants were asked whether they thought it was a "good thing" to: "turn the other cheek and forgive others when they harm you," "reply to anger with gentleness," and "be kind to people even if they do things against one's own belief" (Felson et al., 1994: 159). Felson et al. controlled for race, socio-economic status and family and neighbourhood instability when analyzing the relationships between violent and non-violent delinquent acts and the responses to each scenario.

Felson et al. list three key objectives to their study. First, they sought to gain a sense of the degree to which interpersonal violence amongst males varied across the high schools in their sample. Second, they conducted aggregate analyses in order to explore whether any variations in rates of violence between the schools in the sample could be linked to the presence, absence or influence of subcultural values. Finally, the impact of school context on rates of individual violence was assessed. This analysis was conducted for the purposes of examining the relationship between the research participant's personal values and his participation in violence, as well as any correlation between violence and his schoolmates' values. The purpose of this contextual analysis was to assess the impact of immediate peer group values on individual violent behaviour.

Felson et al. found significant support for the contention that group norms that encourage violence exert far more influence via social control processes than through socialization processes. First, Felson et al. observed distinctions amongst high schools with regard to peer approval of violent or aggressive responses to provocations. While some school environments were conducive to this, others were not. When analyzed further, their contextual analysis revealed that "a boy's violence and delinquency are related to the values prevalent in his school, independent of his own values" (Felson et al., 1994: 168). Thus, in those schools marked by high rates of violence, it appears as though boys engage in violence to maintain their reputation within their school peer groups. Based on this finding, the authors question the idea that boys commit violence as a result of their internalization of school-based, pro-violent values.

Though they deviate from Wolfgang and Ferracuti's original proposition that subcultures of violence are more likely to exert an influence on lower-class racialized men, Felson et al. reject this contention from the outset, citing inconclusive findings from earlier studies, including Erlanger's (1974), as evidence. The authors hypothesize that the subculture of violence thesis may be more appropriate as an explanation for concentrations of violence within small groups in which members engage in ongoing social interaction. They advise that "aggregates based on race or class and regions may not provide the necessary conditions for such a subculture to develop" (Felson et al., 1994: 168). Felson et al. interpret their findings as an additional impetus to reject Wolfgang and Ferracuti's original proposition regarding the likely locales of violent subcultures.

Like Felson et al. (1994), the work of Ousey and Wilcox (2005) also questions the degree to which pro-violent values instigate violent behaviour within subcultures of violence. Ousey and Wilcox examine the influence of individual and aggregate-level pro-violence values on incidents of violent behaviour within a school environment. The authors replicate Felson et al.'s (1994) study with a few alterations. They criticize Felson for overlooking two other possible explanations for violent behaviour that are theoretically notable in the literature on crime and delinquency: exposure to violent peers and low self-control. Incorporating elements of differential association theories of crime and delinquency, the authors hypothesize that individuals may model the violent behaviour of their peers, rather than actually embracing pro-violent values or engaging in violence for the purposes of impression management. In addition, based on the work of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), the authors consider the impact of low self-control on the occurrence of subcultural violence. Ousey and Wilcox criticize Felson et al. (1994) for not controlling for impulsivity in their study and state that a failure to do so may exaggerate the indicators of pro-violence values or attitudes.

Ousey and Wilcox's objective is to address these limitations through examining various relationships between pro-violent values on an individual and aggregate level and aggressive and violent behaviour within schools. In challenging the idea that violent values are primarily the cause of violent behaviour within subcultures of violence, they predict the following: 1) Schools with students who appear to hold values that are more accepting of violence will, on average, have higher rates of violent incidents than will schools with fewer students with pro-violent values. 2) Individuals who hold values or attitudes favourable to violence are more likely to report frequent participation in violence. 3) A distinction between variation in pro-violence values at the individual level and school level can be observed. 4) Once impulsivity and exposure to violent peers are controlled for, it is expected that the effects of school and individual level pro-violence values will be attenuated. 5) The link between pro-violent values and violent behaviour will be stronger in those schools that present greater evidence of violent subcultures. (Ousey and Wilcox, 2005: 9).

Ousey and Wilcox engaged in survey research with 3,690 seventh-grade students from 65 middle schools in randomly selected counties in the state of Kentucky. The students participating in the project completed the survey between March and May of 2001. The final sample size was 2,904 students following the deletion of surveys with missing data. Measurements of the degree to which the students in the sample engaged in violence were obtained through a series of questions requesting information on their levels of participation in various forms of violence while at school. Students were asked how often they had assaulted, sexually assaulted or stolen from other students over the course of one school year. In order to measure pro-violence values on an individual level, respondents were asked about their level of agreement with the following statements: 1) "In order to gain respect from friends, it is sometimes necessary to beat up on other kids." 2) "It is alright to beat up on another person if he or she started the fight." 3) "It is alright to beat up on another person if he or she called you a dirty name." 4) "Hitting another person is an acceptable way to get him or her to do what you want." (Ousey & Wilcox, 2005: 10). In addition, indicators of pro-violence values at the school level were obtained through averages of individual responses for students within each school, or the school-level mean. The researchers then employed both individual scores and the school-level means to estimate any distinctions amongst schools with regard to pro-violent values. Finally, the researchers controlled for exposure to violent peers, impulsivity, parental attachment and school attachment.

Ousey and Wilcox found little support for the thesis that a school subculture of violence was responsible for the violent behaviour of the students in their sample. Their findings also question the central proposition of the subculture of violence with regard to the relationships between violent values and violent behaviour. Although they did find that students who were more approving of and justified the use of violence did indeed commit more violence, the researchers assert that this relationship only appears to be significant at the individual level. It does not appear, the author's conclude, that the violent value context of the school exerts much of an impact on individual violent behaviour. These findings contradict Felson et al.'s (1994) conclusions, which found the opposite to be true. Finally, as hypothesized, Ousey and Wilcox found that controlling for low self-control and impulsivity impacted the strength of the relationship between violent values and violent behaviour. Based on this finding, the authors conclude that "the impact of violent values is somewhat exaggerated when violent peers and impulsivity or low self control are excluded" (Ousey and Wilcox, 2005: 15).

Finally, in contrast to Ousey and Wilcox's conclusions, a study conducted by Berburg and Thorlindsson (2005) found support for Felson's et al.'s (1994) findings regarding the significance of social control processes in perpetuating subcultural violence. Berburg and Thorlindsson examine Wolfgang and Ferracuti's assertion that individuals within a group might be motivated to engage in aggressive behaviour due to the influence of social control stemming from others' adherence to conduct norms. Like Felson et al. (1994), the authors explore whether those presumed to be enmeshed within a subculture of violence experience social pressures or expectations to engage in physical aggression for the purposes of showing courage or protecting status. In examining this aspect of the subculture of violence thesis, the authors measure violent values, conduct norms, and aggression on both an individual and aggregate level. By distinguishing between individual and group values, the researchers were able to test the influence of subcultural values while controlling for personal values.

Berburg and Thorlindsson distributed surveys to Icelandic adolescents during one school day in March of 1997. Their sample consisted of 1,493 boys and 1,448 girls in 49 public schools, 32 of which were located in a more urban district of Reykjavik. All of the research participants were 15–16 years of age. Berburg and Thorlindsson's study of the subculture of violence departs from previous research, including Wolfgang and Ferracuti's original thesis, in two primary ways. First, they break from the assumption that aggression is a masculine characteristic through the inclusion of girls in their sample. Second, the researchers undertake their study amongst a racially and structurally homogenous group of youths.

The researchers tested the impact of neutralization and retribution values as well as group conduct norms. Whether the research participants embraced neutralization values was determined by their agreement or disagreement with the following statements: "Sometimes there are situations that justify people being beaten up or hit," and "When someone treats me badly, I think it's okay to beat up him/her or hit him/her" (462). Researchers assessed participants' retribution values through asking whether it was appropriate or a "good thing" to forgive people or respond kindly when someone either treats them badly or gets angry with them (462). Finally, through determining a group's conduct norms, Bernburg and Thorlindsson hoped to examine the extent to which high school students believed status and reputation to be contingent upon aggressive behaviour. Perceived conduct norms were assessed through the agreement or disagreement with the following question: "He/she who does not respond to a personal attack by hitting or beating up the person is considered a coward in my group of friends" (462). Through distinguishing between conduct norms and personal values, the researchers hoped to acquire a better sense of the influence of peer pressure on aggressive behaviour. Finally, the authors tested aggressive behaviour by asking research participants how often they engaged in a range of threatening and physically violent acts, such as fighting, kicking, punching and threatening with a weapon.

Bernburg and Thorlindsson found support for the subculture of violence proposition that group acceptance of neutralization values promote aggressive behaviour in part due to the individual internalization of these norms. However, they found no evidence to support a link between retribution values and violent behaviour. Finally, the authors found that the impact of conduct norms on aggressive behaviour was significant, particularly for boys, lending support to the hypothesis that group pressure to respond to personal attacks with aggression or violence acts a form of social control. These findings suggest that adolescent boys often engage in aggressive behaviour for the purposes of protecting and maintaining their reputations amongst their friends and within the wider community. With regard to gender differences, Bernburg and Thorlindsson found that conduct norms and neutralization values were far more influential in relation to male aggression. However, their data suggest that these factors play a role in adolescent female aggression as well.

Occupational Subcultures of Violence

In addition to examining whether or not the subculture violence thesis could be employed as an explanation for violent behaviour within the school environment, researchers have also wondered whether this framework could account for concentrations of violence within occupational subcultures. Smith (1979) considers this possibility in relation to professional hockey players in one of the earliest studies on the subculture of violence thesis. More recently, Surratt et al. (2005) examine the applicability of this thesis in relation to sex work. Unlike the school studies reviewed earlier, it can be argued that the social and cultural settings examined in these evaluations are for more appropriate terrains for assessing the relevance of the subculture of violence thesis, given that both professional hockey and sex work are characterized by high rates of violence when contrasted with dominant culture. However, both deviate from Wolfgang and Ferracuti's initial prescriptions for establishing the existence of subcultures of violence. Surrat et al. (2005) are primarily concerned with female sex workers' experiences with violence and the degree to which violence is normalized in their social sphere. They do not consider the concept of disputatiousness or the use of violence to maintain or protect honour, nor do they offer any evidence to support or challenge a direct link between values and violence. A strength of Smith's (1979) study is his research site: machismo is an organizing principle within "jock" culture. Although violence is not explicitly encouraged amongst professional hockey players, at the same time, "violence works as an occupational tool and expresses moral character" (Smith, 1979: 239). Smith, however, does not analyze the subculture of violence thesis amongst a structurally marginalized population.

Hockey Violence and the Subculture of Violence Thesis

Smith (1979) employs interviews and survey research to examine the applicability of the subculture of violence thesis in relation to professional hockey players in Toronto, Ontario. His sample consisted of three different populations of men between the ages of 12 and 21. While the first two consisted of house-league hockey players and competitive hockey players, the third comprised non-hockey players. A total of 520 hockey players and 180 non-hockey players participated in the study, which was conducted in April of 1976. The interviewees in all groups hailed from various socio-economic backgrounds.

Participants' attitudes towards violence, specifically teenage fighting, were assessed through agreement with the following questions: "Are there any situations you can imagine, not counting sport, in which you would approve of a teenage boy punching another teenage boy" (241)? Those who agreed with this statement were then asked whether they agreed with a boy fighting to defend himself from ridicule, in response to a challenge to fight, or in reaction to being shoved by another boy. In order to assess attitudes towards hockey fighting specifically, respondents were presented with the same scenarios, but with hockey players as the hypothetical assailants. Finally, the researchers asked the respondents how many street fights they had been in during the three years prior to their study in order to obtain information on participation in violence. The hockey players in the sample were asked to provide additional information on the number of fights they had been in during the 1975–1976 season. Official game reports indicating penalties for fighting were also considered.

In keeping with the subculture of violence thesis, Smith found that the hockey players in his sample exhibited values and attitudes far more permissive of violence than the non-hockey players did. He also noted a significant relationship between the hockey players' pro-violent attitudes and values and participation in violence. Smith interprets this finding as supportive of Wolfgang and Ferracuti's proposition suggesting a causal correlation between violence and pro-violent values and attitudes. However, he does not view his findings as supportive of the subculture of violence thesis in its entirety. Smith counters Wolfgang and Ferracuti's assertions that subcultural affiliates are more likely to hail from marginalized socio-economic backgrounds through his findings, which indicate that, although the hockey players who were from a lower socio-economic background had participated in more hockey fights, they were in fewer street fights than their higher SES counterparts were (Smith, 1979: 244).

Sex Work, Drug Use and Subcultures of Violence

Surratt et al. explore the subculture of violence theses in relation to female street sex workers in Miami, Florida. In so doing, the authors assess whether the disproportionate amount of violence sex workers experience can be attributed to the fact that they live and work within a subculture of violence. The authors interviewed and conducted focus groups with 325 women, between 2000 and 2001, in order to examine their experiences of violent victimization. The target population for the study consisted of active, drug-using female sex workers between the ages of 16 and 49. In order to qualify as "active," research participants had to have traded sex for money or drugs at least three times a week for a period of 30 days and used heroin or cocaine at least three times a week during this time. Surratt et al. employed a targeted sampling plan, which involved mapping the neighbourhoods with the highest concentration of prostitution, and relied on active sex workers to recruit participants for their study. Interviews were administered using three data collection instruments: the NIDA Risk Behaviour Assessment, the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire and the Georgia State University Prostitution Inventory. Focus groups were conducted following the interviews for the purposes of contextualizing findings.

With regards to demographics, the mean age of the sample was 38.1. Of the 325 women who participated in the study, 60.3 per cent were African-American, 23.4 per cent were Caucasian and 12.9 per cent were Latina. Most interviewees considered themselves homeless, though some were staying in shelters or at the homes of friends and acquaintances temporarily. Less than half of the sample had obtained a high school diploma and the vast majority lived on less than $1,000 per month. On average, the career span for most of the sex workers in the study was 15.8 years. Alcohol and cocaine were reported to be the most widely used substances amongst this group.

Research participants were asked questions about childhood violence, as well as experiences of violent victimization that had taken place in the past year. The rates of both were extremely high. With regard to childhood experiences, 44.9 per cent of the women reported a history of physical abuse, 50.5 per cent advised of sexual abuse and 61.8 per cent reported emotional abuse. In relation to current incidents of violence, 24.9 per cent reported being beaten, 13.8 per cent advised being threatened with a weapon and 12.9 per cent indicated being raped. In all of these incidents, clients or "dates" were the offenders. Surratt et al. view these figures as supportive of the subculture of violence thesis, given that the rates of sexual and physical assaults reported amongst this group are 43 and 13 times the national averages, based on figures reported in the National Violence Against Women Survey. Surrat et al. interpret their modest but consistent correlation between childhood and current victimization as indicative of a sex work subculture of violence. The researchers found that women who had experienced the most traumatic and severe incidents of physical, emotional and sexual abuse as children also reported the highest rates of violent victimization as adults. Focus group data illustrated that the vast majority of women who reported incidents of violence were rather fatalistic about their experiences. Most regarded the violence in their lives as an inevitable aspect of their work. Based on these findings, Surratt et al. conclude that street sex workers are enmeshed within a subculture of violence. However, whether their evidence is sufficient to support this claim is debatable. As they acknowledge, this study does not include a systematic assessment of values or attitudes towards violence. In addition, Surrat et al. are more concerned with their research participants' victimization experiences, rather than with social or cultural supports for committing violence. Despite these shortcomings, their findings raise important questions about gender in relation to offending and victimization when assessing subcultural supports for violence.

Disputatiousness in the South and the Inner City

This section will address the subculture of violence thesis as an explanatory device in relation to violence in the Southern United States and the inner city as addressed in Nisbett and Cohen's, *The Culture of Honor* (1997), and Anderson's *The Code of the Streets* (1999) respectively. Both works offer comprehensive examinations of the concept of disputatiousness. In these studies, the high rates of violence in the inner city and the South are theorized as resulting from cultural codes that permit the use of violence in situations where property, honour and family are at stake. In keeping with Wolfgang and Ferracuti's original prescriptions for analyzing violent subcultures, Nesbitt and Cohen approach the examination of disputatiousness in the South through quantitative methods, particularly survey research and an array of social psychological tests, which they employ to assess attitudes and values towards violence. In *The Code of the Streets*, Anderson (1999) conducted ethnographic research to explore the lives of residents in an inner-city Philadelphia neighbourhood in order to gain insight into the meaning and function of violence in their lives. Unlike *The Subculture of Violence*, both *The Culture of Honour* and *The Code of the Streets* present arguments regarding the genesis of the violent cultures in the South and the inner city. Nesbitt and Cohen present a historical explanation, tracing Southern proclivities for violence to the herding economy, which was brought to the area by Scotch-Irish settlers in the late 17th century (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 8). For Anderson, the code of the streets is a cultural adaptation to structural constraints, a theorization that is also implicit in the culture of honour thesis. Both studies find conclusive proof for subcultures of violence in the South and the inner city.

The Culture of Honour: The Psychology of Violence in the South

According to Nisbett and Cohen (1997), cultures of honour tend to develop in societies where individuals are at severe risk of losing their resources. Due to a combination of limited state protection and an economic system generative of few resources, the authors contend that a form of frontier mentality emerges. As a consequence, citizens, particularly men, feel the need to embrace hyper-masculine characteristics to ensure the protection of their property, families and themselves. Within this context, reputation, an unwillingness to tolerate insults and the ability to impose one's will on others are critical to socio-economic well-being. Those who are known or appear to be capable of protecting their resources and themselves are less likely to become the victims of theft and violence (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: xvi). Considering these conditions, the use of violence for the purposes of protection becomes culturally permissible and, to a certain degree, a necessity.

Nisbett and Cohen note that in the 17th and 19th centuries, cultures of honour existed in various parts of the South and had developed in congruence with herding economies imported to the area by Scotch-Irish settlers. Despite the passing of such lawless times, they argue, the cultural conditions associated with this way of life have persevered and continue to guide the actions and behaviour of the descendents of these early settlers today. After disputing some of the most common explanations for the high rates of Southern violence, such as the legacy of slavery and the hot climate, they examine whether the subculture of violence thesis is an appropriate explanation for the high rates of violence in states such as Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia.

Despite the overlaps between the culture of honour and subculture of violence theses, Nisbett and Cohen depart from Wolfgang and Ferracuti's propositions regarding the locales and populations presumed to be involved in subcultural violence. Rather than focusing on racialized populations in the inner city or disorganized neighbourhoods, Nisbett and Cohen focus on the high rates of violence amongst Southern white males.

To examine the appropriateness of a cultural explanation for violence in this region, the authors perform a multitude of comparative experiments to determine whether white northern and southern men vary in the degree to which they embrace pro-violent values and norms. Attitudes towards disputatiousness were captured through survey data and questions exploring approval for violence in hypothetical situations depicting incidents of violence committed in the name of honour. Noting the potential disparities between conduct and attitudes, they supplement their study with tests to determine whether southern males do in fact act and perceive confrontation differently from their northern counterparts. Their overall questions are the following: "Do young southern white men today really care about insults? Is their masculinity really put on the line when they are affronted, as survey results would imply? Are they truly prepared to take steps to restore the balance after someone offends them" (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 39)?

To answer these questions, the authors performed a series of social-psychological experiments, which involved testing variations in perceptions and reactions towards insults and shoves amongst a sample of northern and southern college students at the University of Michigan. The most noteworthy and intricate experiment involved a staged interaction, in which a confederate of the researchers bumped into each research participant while walking down a hallway and swore at him (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 42). Evidence of disputatiousness and concerns about damaged reputation were determined by the following: assessments of whether the research participants were aroused or stressed, which were in turn assessed through variations in levels of cortisol and testosterone; examinations of each participant's behaviour following the interaction; and finally, the participants' emotional and cognitive responses. The authors found support for the culture of honour hypothesis: insulted southern participants experienced the greatest increase in cortisol and testosterone levels, expressed far more concerns about being perceived as masculine during an interaction with an individual who had observed the staged altercation, had firmer handshakes, and tended to express more hostility than their insulted northern counterparts did. The same finding applied to a control group composed of southern men who were not insulted (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 41–50). The researchers interpret such findings as conclusive support for the culture of honour thesis and indicative of values of "self-protection, sensitivity to insult and a willingness to take matters of punishment into one's own hands" (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 57).

Nisbett and Cohen supplement these experiments with macro-level analyses to assess any institutional supports for violence in the South. In so doing, they observe focus on collective expressions of culture as reflected in laws, social policies and institutional behaviour, relying on both field experiments and archival data to do so. The authors point out that the law and social institutions are critical to shaping the behaviour of citizens by defining what is acceptable and unacceptable. Not only do they reflect individual values, they also "feedback" and shape them (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 58). Accordingly, they investigate a variety of policies, including: laws that embody norms of self-defence, particularly those in relation to gun control and national defence; policies on corporal punishment and domestic violence, which they consider to be reflective of attitudes relating to violence for the purposes of social control; and corporal punishment, which, they argue, captures collective attitudes towards the use of violence for retributive purposes. Based upon the voting habits of legislators as well as an array of statistics and opinion polls, Nisbett and Cohen conclude that the South is indeed more favourably disposed toward capital and corporal punishment and far more concerned with national defence than the North is, and is generally opposed to gun control. All of this, they argue, is conclusive evidence that a culture of honour exists in the South.

Nisbett and Cohen found additional evidence for their thesis following a series of field experiments conducted to determine the existence of institutional supports for a culture of honour in the South. One notable study examined perceptions and reactions of various northern and southern employers to a fictional job candidate. The hypothetical job candidate is depicted as appealing for consideration despite his conviction of manslaughter for killing a man who was having an affair with his partner. The researchers crafted this experiment by composing a letter confessing details of the crime, which they sent along with a resume to various employers in both parts of the country. As they had anticipated, the southern employers were far more sympathetic to the plight of the job candidate than their northern counterparts were (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 75).

Finally, in an attempt to examine media reinforcements of the culture of honour, Nisbett and Cohen examine how various college newspapers in the South, West and North would write news stories about a fictional murder committed in response to provocation and for the purposes of maintaining reputation and honour. After distributing an outline of the bare facts of the case to the universities involved in the study, the researchers reviewed the stories they produced, combing them for evidence of sympathy and blame. Nisbett and Cohen found that "compared to northern papers, southern and western papers…were more likely to emphasize provoking circumstances than aggravating ones" (Nisbett and Cohen, 1997: 77). Over all, they found that newspaper coverage in the West and South portrayed the offender more favourably than the news stories written by the northern students did.

Nisbett and Cohen provide compelling empirical proof that the high rates of southern violence amongst rural white males in the South can be attributed to subcultural supports for violence committed in the name of honour. A significant methodological strength of this study is that it reaches far beyond survey data and considers not only the attitudes and values of research participants, but also whether institutions reflect cultures of honour.

More recently, Hayes and Lee (2005) revisited Nesbitt and Cohen's culture of honour thesis and found partial support for their study. The authors relied on data from the GSS, which allowed them to examine the relationship between growing up in the South and an increased likelihood to engage in violence amongst a national sample of over 2,500 US households. Hayes and Lees analyzed the responses of research participants to a series of questions assessing their approval of the use of violence for the purposes of self-defence and maintaining honour and respect. The researchers predicted that individuals who reside in the South, as well as those who were socialized in southern states, would be more supportive of violence. The findings of the study indicate that "Southern white rural males, in particular, will be more approving of violence than other demographic groups when used in defence of honour, family or personal property" (Hayes and Lee, 2005: 613).

The Code of the Streets: Disputatiousness in the Inner City

Perhaps the most well-known, controversial and widely examined ethnographic exploration of the African-American subculture of violence thesis is Anderson's (1999) *A Code of the Streets*. Anderson's work is notable for its use of ethnography and narrative to examine the applicability of the subculture of violence framework to an inner-city, low-income African-American neighbourhood in Philadelphia. Unlike Wolfgang and Ferracuti, Anderson does not infer the existence of subcultures of violence based on statistical indicators of high rates of violence in poor racialized neighbourhoods. Rather, he attempts to explore in detail the meanings of and motivations for violence amongst those who are thought to be enmeshed within the subcultures of violence. Anderson's key question is, "why it is that so many inner city young people are inclined to commit aggression and violence towards one another" (Anderson, 1999: 90)? Hoping to elucidate the cultural and social dynamics that foster internecine violence in the urban core of Philadelphia, Anderson engaged in four years of participant-observation and in-depth interviews with residents in a neighbourhood along Germantown Avenue.

According to Anderson, the high rates of violence amongst inner-city residents can be attributed to a "code of the streets." This code, he notes, functions as a "set of informal rules governing interpersonal public behaviour" that encourages the use of violence for the purposes of maintaining honour and defending reputation (Anderson, 1999: 33). Anderson notes the importance of adopting an image that they are not to be "messed with" amongst street-oriented youth. In order to account for the fact that only a very small minority of residents in Germantown actually engage in "street" behaviour, Anderson identifies a second code, which he terms the "code of civility." Despite their shared social and structural location, unlike their "street" counterparts, "civil" residents are not so quick to engage in violence, preferring instead to adopt "middle-class values" of decency, hard work, responsibility, pacifism, and religion. While both contingents experience the hardships of race and class oppression, "rather than dwelling on the hardships and inequities facing them," Anderson argues, "civil" individuals tend to "accept mainstream values more fully than street families" and make the best of what they have (Anderson, 1999: 38). Thus, in keeping with Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1967) framework, violence is understood to be a consequence of a "street code," which results in the internalization of pro-violent norms and values amongst those who are active participants in a subculture of violence. These individuals are theorized as rejecting dominant or "middle-class" values in favour of a code of behaviour that valorizes subcultural norms of aggression, hyper-masculinity, idleness and debauchery. While the majority of the sub-proletariat African-Americans within the neighbourhood – the civil residents – reject this way of life, they constantly feel the "pull" of the street code, and are forced to defend themselves and their values as they venture into public spaces on a daily basis.

Building upon Nisbett and Cohen's (1997) theorizations, Anderson recognizes Germantown Avenue's inner city as a culture of honour. He theorizes the violence occurring in this context as a form of capital that African-American men employ to demonstrate hyper-masculinity and ensure the preservation of their property and family. This masculine performance is crucial to maintaining status, self-preservation and respect. As Anderson notes, the associations of violence, honour, and respect have a practical application: if "others have little regard for a person's manhood, his very life and the lives of his loved ones could be in jeopardy" (Anderson, 1999: 91). This instrumental use of violence is closely intertwined with the illegal drug market, which forms the basis of the underground economy in the inner city and operates in opposition to legitimate legal structures. For those individuals involved in this economy, violence is a form of street justice, and appearing tough is critical to their economic survival. Thus, disputatiousness is a norm in the inner city. As Anderson notes, "Many of the forms dissing can take may seem petty to middle class people (maintaining eye contact for too long, for example), but to those invested in the street code, these actions, a virtual slap in the face, become serious indications of the other person's intentions" (Anderson, 1999: 34).

One major contribution of Anderson's study is that it draws from a variety of traditions in criminological thought to explain the origins of subcultures of violence. Anderson elaborates on the etiology of the code of the streets, borrowing from Sampson and Wilson's (1995) theorizations of the relationships between race, crime and inequality. Cultural proclivities for violence are conceptualized as adaptations to structural constraints and social disorganization, which in turn result from race and class oppression. Anderson points to the havoc wreaked in the area due to global economic changes, asserting that de-industrialization and the loss of manufacturing jobs have generated an "oppositional culture" and "ideology of alienation" amongst inner-city African-Americans (Anderson, 1999: 111). This is a departure from Wolfgang and Ferracuti's circular framework, which assumes that violence is a reflection of pro-violent values.

Despite his avoidance of tautological reasoning and his attempt to account for origins of subcultural violence, an important criticism of Anderson's work is that he fails to clarify the specific processes that had led the residents of Germantown Avenue's inner city to embrace pro-violent values and attitudes (Wacquant, 2002). By attributing differences in motivation to commit violence to values, he raises several questions about the relationships between social structure, violence and masculinity. For example, how did the polarized "decent" and "street" groups emerge in the first place, and what exactly led to the development of their distinct value orientations? How and why do some inner city residents succumb to the pull of the streets while others somehow manage to resist it? Are there other social structural differences between these factions, besides race and class, that are causing the disparity and fuelling the violence amongst "street" individuals? Despite his rich ethnographic data and narrative approach, none of these questions is addressed in Anderson's account.

Over the past few years, Anderson's code of the street's thesis has also faced some criticism due to the fact that it rests upon assumptions acquired through qualitative research methods. As a consequence, many have questioned the validity and generality of his findings. In an attempt to address this shortcoming, Brezina et al. (2004) conducted an extensive review of quantitative studies on youth violence in order to assess the validity and generality of Anderson's claims. In their review, the authors tested two of Anderson's key hypotheses. First, they explored whether adherence to a code that encourages retaliation for the purposes of protecting and maintaining status is associated with racialized, low socio-economic and socially disorganized neighbourhoods. Second, they examined whether adherence to the code is related to neglectful and abusive parenting, experiences with violence and victimization, exposure to violent peers, and a general belief that legitimate means to attain status or respect are unavailable (Brezina et al., 2004: 307). The authors found that previous studies were largely consistent with Anderson's work. They conclude that "prior studies have also established links between violent definitions and many of the socio-environmental factors highlighted by Anderson, including parenting practices, peer relations, neighbourhood context, and various demographic factors such as SES and urban residence" (Brezina et al., 2004: 319). However, previous research did not support the contention that the code is solely an inner-city black phenomenon.

Brezina et al. also found support for Anderson's more specific hypotheses in relation to adherence to the code. The authors examined whether those who had experienced high levels of victimization and youth who perceived a lack of future opportunities through legitimate means, such as school and the labour market, were more likely to use violence to protect and maintain their honour. Three waves of data from a National Youth Survey, a self-report study on delinquent behaviour, were analyzed to assess these claims. The survey was based on a probability sample of youths between the ages of

11 and 17 and had been conducted in the late 1970s. The study sampled households within two Philadelphia neighbourhoods and interviewed youths within the selected households. Brezina et al. found that "youths who perceive a lack of future opportunity and those who report relatively high levels of prior victimization are more likely to than other youths to become associated with aggressive peers" (Brezina et al., 2004: 322). These associations, in turn, increased levels of violence. The authors found that exposure to violent peers increased the likelihood of engagement in violence for the purposes of retaliation to real or perceived slights, a finding which is consistent with Ousey and Wilcox's (2005) study reviewed earlier.

Finally, in another recent examination of Anderson's code of the streets thesis, Stewart and Simon (2006) employ two waves of survey data from 720 African-American youth from over 259 neighbourhoods in the United States to explore whether neighbourhood context, family of origin and experiences of discrimination influence adoption of the street code. The authors tested three of Andersons' key hypotheses. First, they examined whether individuals growing up in a "street" family are far more likely to adopt the code of the streets than individuals growing up in a "decent" family are. Next, they examined whether youths who experience racism are more likely to embrace the code. And finally, the authors observed whether there is a relationship between neighbourhood disorganization and violence and adherence to the street code (Stewart and Simons, 2006: 8). The researchers found support for Anderson's conclusions and a significant relationship between adoption of the street code and family background, experiences of racism, and neighbourhood context (Stewart and Simons, 2006: 24). While being raised in a "street" family contributed to the likelihood of adherence to the code, a "decent" family background appeared to mute its impact. However, in contrast to Anderson's suggestion that the code is an inner-city African-American phenomenon, Stewart and Simon's findings illustrate that this is not the case.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

The subculture of violence thesis has undergone considerable evaluation since its emergence in the mid-20th century. Though Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) had outlined a methodology for the scientific evaluation of subcultures, their claims were based on inferences and statistics rather than on actual knowledge of the values and attitudes of individuals presumed to be enmeshed within a subculture of violence. Various propositions of the subculture of violence thesis have been reviewed, with mixed results. Both Ball-Rokeach (1973) and Erlanger (1974) insist that there is little empirical support for Wolfgang and Ferracuti's claims and question their key assertion that violent values lead to violent behaviour. However, it is debatable whether these studies capture and evaluate the central tenets of the subculture of violence thesis appropriately.

More recent evaluations show support for Wolfgang and Ferracuti's propositions concerning the role of social control processes in perpetuating subcultural violence rather than the notion that the use of violence emerges from violent values. Studies illustrate that far more predictive of violent behaviour are group norms that lead to the instrumental use of violence amongst subcultural affiliates for the purposes of impression management and maintaining reputation. These findings question the assumption that all individuals engaged in subcultures of violence actually approve of violent actions. Both Felson et al. (1994) and Berburg and Thorlindsson (2005) found this to be the case amongst middle school and high school students in the United States and in Iceland. Smith's (1979) study of professional hockey players lends support to this conclusion as well. However, in a replication of Felson et al.'s study, Ousey and Wilcox (2005) found little support for the contention that group norms play a significant role in the proliferation of violence. While they do find a relationship between violent values and participation in violence, especially at an individual level, they also insist that claims about the impact of violent values have been exaggerated, given that prior research does not control for exposure to violent peers.

Interest in the instrumental use of violence has led to revisions of the subculture of violence thesis. The culture of honour is one variation of this thesis that has been the subject of considerable qualitative and quantitative examinations. This concept elaborates on Wolfgang and Ferracuti's proposition on disputatiousness, which not only emphasizes the use of violence for maintaining honour and reputation, but also considers the sanctions associated with failing to comply with norms around violence. Nisbett and Cohen (1996) find considerable support for their hypothesis linking the high rates of violence in the South to a southern culture of honour. Similarly, Anderson (1999) concludes that high rates of violence within poor, socially disorganized, predominantly black inner-city neighbourhoods can also be attributed to a culture of honour. Unlike Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), both works provide theories regarding the genesis of cultures of honour. In Nisbett and Cohen, the southern culture of honour is believed to be an artefact of the herding economies brought to the area by Irish and Scottish settlers between the 17th and 19th centuries. Despite socio-economic transformations since this time, norms and values more permissive of the use of violence to maintain honour are believed to have survived. According to Anderson, the culture of honour that rules North Philadelphia's Germantown Avenue can be linked to structural constraints and social disorganization, both of which are a result of race and class oppression. Recently, Brezina et al. (2004) and Stewart and Simon (2006) tested a variety of Anderson's claims, due to the fact that his findings were accrued through ethnographic observation.

Both studies found considerable support for his hypotheses regarding socio-economic marginalization and embracing the code of the streets.

Finally, most of these studies indicate that subcultures of violence are not unique to economically marginalized or racialized communities, as Wolfgang and Ferracuti had suggested. In contrast, Smith (1979) found that the hockey players in his study who hailed from privileged backgrounds were far more likely to engage in fights than the non-privileged ones were. Similarly, in their re-evaluation of Anderson's work, Stewart and Simon (2006) found no significant relationship between racial group and cultural supports for violence. Erlanger (1974) was led to similar conclusions based on his analysis of white and African-American populations in the United States. Finally, Nisbett and Cohen (1996) argue that the culture of honour in the South can only explain the high rate of violence amongst white southern men.

The policy implications of subcultural theories focus on targeting the consequences of socio-economic marginalization. In order to improve the lives of sex workers, for instance, Surrat et al. recommend programs that aim to promote safer work environments, assistance in finding alternatives to the street, and sensitivity training for the police and other criminal justice officials. The importance of ensuring access to community-based treatment facilities is also noted. With regard to the incidence of subcultural violence in black and African-American neighbourhoods, Oliver (1994) advocates the implementation of community-based interventions to disrupt social and cultural supports for violence (Oliver, 1994, as discussed in Washington, 1997). He argues that coalitions involving community, religious, and business leaders should work together with local politicians and the private sector to fund and design programs for black youth.

Conflict resolution, mentoring, educational and recreational programs are also listed as potentially empowering solutions; however, observers have noted that in order for these programs to be effective, these interventions must consider the fact that young, at-risk black men "need to simulate behaviour that is valued in the 'streets'" (Washington, 1997: 12). In addition, it is important that those teaching conflict resolution or leading mentoring programs be perceived as role models for at-risk youth. It has been argued that such efforts will most likely be ineffective if those leading the programs are not admired or respected by participants (Washington, 1997: 13). Along with these recommendations, early intervention is seen as critical to preventing violence in socially disorganized and impoverished neighbourhoods. Identifying at-risk youth early on, it is argued, would allow for community leaders to devote additional resources and attention to those who need it the most. Finally, Oliver (1994) also proposes advocacy efforts to ensure that all those living in socially disorganized and violent neighbourhoods are aware of the geographic areas in which violence generally occurs.

In sum, research indicates that high concentrations of violence amongst specific populations and geographic locations can be attributed to a variety of social and cultural forces. While macro-socio-economic processes play a role, collective norms that govern smaller groups, such as schools, also appear to generate violence. Further research on the subculture of violence thesis could benefit from more qualitative and ethnographic analysis of the specific factors that lead individuals down paths of violence and non-violence. Doing so could provide greater insight into how certain individuals become more or less immune to norms and values of violence, despite a shared structural position or geographic location.

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Chapter 10:

Social Learning, the Media and Violence

North America has long been concerned about the possible effects of media violence and most especially, its effects on youth. The leading concern is that media violence may cause aggressive or violent and criminal behaviour. Various scholars, political groups, and organizations have reported that there is clear and consistent evidence that violence in the media causes real-life aggression and violence. In June of 2000, a number of American medical and psychological associations, including the American Medical Association and the American Psychological Association, issued a joint statement about the pathological effects of entertainment violence (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). According to these groups, evidence points to a causal association between media violence and aggressive behaviour in some children. Some scholars have evaluated the magnitude of media violence effects on violent behaviour as almost as important as gang membership (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). However, there is ongoing debate as to whether there is a causal relation between media violence and aggression. Furthermore, the importance of this relation, and whether it warrants widespread concern, is highly disputed.

Canada has not been immune from debate and concerns about the effects of media violence on attitudes, emotions, and behaviours, herein referred to as "media effects." In 2004, the Ontario Office for Victims of Crime commissioned a report about the effects of media violence in order to develop a strategic plan to reduce exposure to media violence in Canada (Smith, 2004). The report included a number of Canadian examples of alleged "copycat" crimes, and made recommendations such as implementing a national public education campaign to "inform people about the extensive research showing harmful effects of media violence, particularly on children and youth" (Smith, 2004: 204) and encouraging survivors of violent crimes caused by entertainment products, or their families, to file civil lawsuits against the entertainment companies responsible for creating the products or distributing them (Smith, 2004). However, Canada's stance on media effects is admittedly undecided. An earlier report prepared for the Canadian National Clearing House on Family Violence (1995) suggested that it is "at-risk" youth, a group that represents a minority of viewers, who are probably most vulnerable to media violence, and that television violence likely makes them more aggressive than they would otherwise be (Josephson, 1995). Attempts to censor violent media or media that has the potential to stoke crime (e.g., hip hop music) have also permeated the Canadian political sphere. In 2005, one of hip hop's most prominent artists (Curtis Jackson, a.k.a. 50 cent) was the subject of complaints by Toronto Liberal MP Dan McTeague, who called upon Immigration Minister Joe Volpe to deny Jackson entry to Canada for his planned concerts (CBC, 2005). Jackson's songs are characterized by lyrics that have offended many, mostly because they boast of his life of crime and violence. Ultimately, however, Jackson was allowed entry.

Defining Media Violence and Aggression

Concerns about the effect of media violence on aggression are not restricted to any specific media type, and frequently apply to television, film, music, video, and computer games. Media violence has been defined as "visual portrayals of acts of physical aggression by one human or human-like character against another" (Huesmann, 2007). However, others have argued that even violent lyrics can lead to aggression (see Barongan and Nagayama Hall, 1995; Fischer and Greitemeyer, 2006). Aggression is commonly defined by psychologists as any behaviour that is intended to harm another person (Anderson et al., 2003). Aggressive behaviour may take various forms. Physical aggression includes a variety of acts ranging from shoving and pushing to more serious physical assaults, including violent acts which may cause serious injury (e.g., shooting). Less serious forms of aggression include verbal aggression (e.g., saying hurtful things to others) and relational/indirect aggression (e.g., telling lies to get a person in trouble or to harm their interpersonal relationships). Aggressive and violent behaviour is said to be caused by multiple factors which converge over time. It has been argued that influences that promote aggressive behaviour in children, such as media violence, can effectively contribute to increasingly aggressive and violent behaviour years later (Anderson et al., 2003).

Theoretical Explanations of Media Effects

To answer the question of whether media violence can lead to aggression, one must first have an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of such claims. A prominent scholar on emotion and media, Dolf Zillmann, has proposed several theories to explain why individuals seek out crime and horror/violent media. His mood management theory is self-explanatory, in that it suggests that entertainment is used to enhance or maintain positive states and to diminish or avoid negative ones (Zillmann, 1988a, 1988b;

Zillmann and Bryant, 1985, as cited in Oliver, 2003). In this framework, the consumption of crime or violent media is also thought to be related to viewers' own fears and anxieties: viewers may choose to expose themselves to their fears in a safe context as a way of coping or mastering their fears. Such a perspective is supported by a study that found that, when males were induced to think aggressive thoughts or to behave in an aggressive manner, they were more likely than other participants to select violent as opposed to non-violent media entertainment for viewing in a subsequent task (Fenigstein, 1979). This theory may partly explain why numerous studies have found associations between youths' aggressive behaviours and their preference for media violence (which will be discussed in more detail below).

Additional theories, however, suggest that media violence can lead to aggression. The most straightforward explanation of media effects is social learning theory (Cantor, 2003). Social learning theory suggests that individuals learn from direct experience and from behaviour modelled by others, which can occur via the media. Proponents of the media effects argument, such as L. Rowell Huesmann (2007), therefore suggest that media violence has short-term and long-term effects, both of which can be accounted for by various related theories.

Theoretical Explanations of Short-Term Media-Effects

The short-term effects of media violence are largely attributed to priming, mimicry or arousal (Huesmann, 2007). Priming processes suggest that external stimulus can be inherently linked to cognition (e.g., the sight of a gun is linked to aggressive thoughts). Primed concepts thus make behaviours linked to them more likely to occur. In this perspective, media violence is purported to prime aggressive concepts, which in turn increases the likelihood of aggressive behaviour.

Even more simplistic, mimicry suggests that merely viewing media violence can lead to imitating the observed behaviour. Anecdotal evidence (e.g., copycat crimes) (Smith, 2004) and some scholarly work suggests that observing specific social behaviours effectively increases the likelihood of children behaving in the same way (Huesmann, 2007).

Arousal theory is also referred to as excitation-transfer theory, and was first proposed by Dolf Zillmann (Bryant, Roskos-Ewoldsen and Cantor, 2003). The theory is based on a number of assumptions about emotional responding. For example, emotions such as anger, fear, and sexual arousal are said to involve a substantial increase in sympathetic activation and have similar peripheral indices of arousal, such as elevated heart rate and blood pressure (Cantor, 2003). According to excitation-transfer theory, physiological arousal that occurs due to an emotion decays relatively slowly and can linger on for some time after the cause of the emotion. The intensity with which an emotion is felt also depends on the level of arousal existing at the time. As individuals have relatively poor insight into why they are physiologically aroused, an individual can confuse residual arousal with a new emotion (i.e., a misattribution) which leads the individual to feel the subsequent emotion more intensely (Cantor, 2003). Applying this theory to media effects suggests that the arousal induced by media violence could linger and make people who are angered feel their anger more intensely, as well as potentially make them react more violently if provided the opportunity to retaliate against their provoker (Cantor, 2003). Although arousal theory is supported by a great deal of evidence, some research suggests that imitating media violence can occur in the absence of elevated arousal or provocation (Cantor, 2003). This led Zillmann to revise his theory to account for what he believed were long-term media effects. Zillmann's revised theory suggested that frequent, consistent and repeated activation of particular concepts results in the chronic accessibility of such constructs. If, then, media violence makes aggression scripts (i.e., an enduring hostile mental framework) chronically accessible, individuals thus exposed may be more likely than individuals without a history of heavy exposure to media violence to engage in aggressive behaviours (Cantor, 2003). Other theories also account for purported long-term media effects.

Theoretical Explanations of Long-Term Media Effects

The long-term effects of media violence are said to be due to observational learning and to the activation and desensitization of emotional processes (i.e., desensitization theory). (Huesmann, 2007). Observational learning theory suggests that when children observe others' behaviours and make attributions for their actions, this leads to the development of cognitive scripts. As children age, normative beliefs about appropriate social behaviours become entrenched and act as filters to limit inappropriate social behaviour. These normative beliefs and scripts are thus influenced, in part, by children's observation of behaviours around them, including those observed in the media. The theory therefore suggests that children who are developing scripts and normative beliefs can become aggressive if they observe violent behaviours depicted in the media.

According to desensitization theory, repeated exposure to emotionally activating media leads individuals to become habituated to these emotions, and consequently leads to a decline in their negative emotional reactions (e.g., increased heart rate, perspiration) to stimuli that would ordinarily cause such reactions (e.g., violence). Desensitization itself is said to lead individuals to have the capability of acting aggressively without experiencing the negative emotions that would, under normal circumstances, circumscribe aggressive behaviour (Huesmann, 2007).

Individual Factors and the General Aggression Model

The processes outlined above represent basic learning and behavioural mechanisms and are also applicable to real-life experiences (as opposed to media-based experiences). The aforementioned theories also largely present media effects as affecting all individuals equally. However, such broad, overarching theories may be criticized as dubious given the widespread appeal of media violence and the comparatively scant number of people who engage in aggressive or violent behaviour. Some scholars have therefore proposed more attenuated media-effects theories. Craig A. Anderson (another strong proponent of the media effects argument) and his colleagues have proposed the general aggression model (GAM), which integrates many of the aforementioned theoretical models and takes into consideration developmental factors (see Anderson and Bushman, 2002a; Anderson and Carnagey, 2004; Anderson and Huesmann, 2003, as cited in Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). The model also distinguishes between variables and processes that operate in the current situation (e.g., person and situation variables) and those that exert influence over a long period of time (e.g., biological and environmental variables). The long-term variables (e.g., aggressive personality) are those that facilitate the current situation variables, which in turn directly increase aggression or decrease "normal" inhibitions against aggression. According to the GAM, media violence is both an environmental factor (i.e., due to social learning) and a situational instigator (i.e., due to its cognitive links to aggressive scripts, schemas, and beliefs).

The model also assimilates advances in developmental theories that explain individual differences in development via a risk and resilience perspective (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). Risk factors are life experiences that may put children at risk for future maladaptation, whereas resilience factors protect children from this risk exposure. Anderson and colleagues (2007) suggest that risk and resilience factors may explain why media effects affect some children to a greater degree than others, although they argue that media effects are likely a risk factor for all children. Risk factors that have been studied include marital discord, low socio-economic status, maternal psychological distress, single-parent status or divorce, low maternal education, and exposure to violence, as well as genetic risk factors for psychopathology or aggression (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). Risk factors frequently coincide and are considered by some, such as Anderson and colleagues (2007), to have cumulative effects on children's risks for healthy development. Resilience factors include good self-regulation, close relationships with caregivers and other adults, and effective schools (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007).

It is typically acknowledged that exposure to media violence will likely not, in itself, lead to extreme and rare violent behaviour (e.g., shooting someone). However, Anderson and colleagues (2007) suggest that someone who has other risk factors for violent behaviour, and who, for example, is already verbally aggressive, may become more aggressive (e.g., push or shove others) due to media effects. They note, however, that media effects are also likely influenced by the developmental tasks children face as they mature (e.g., in infancy, early childhood, middle childhood, adolescence). For example, in middle childhood, learning social rules and norms takes on increased importance. As such, media effects may have short-term or long-term effects and may be very different depending on the age of the child.

Evidence Supporting the Media-Effects Argument

Based on these theoretical models, and on a number of studies that they and others have conducted, Anderson and colleagues (2007) have categorically stated that "exposure to media violence causes an increase in the likelihood of aggression in at least some significant proportion of the population" (25) and that, since 1975, there has been no scientific doubt that viewing violence increases aggression (Anderson and Bushman, 2002b). Based on previous reviews of the literature, they claim that the debate over media effects on violence is over. Studies using various methodologies (e.g., experimental, cross-sectional, and longitudinal) provide converging evidence that media violence contributes to real-life violence (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007).

Each methodological approach to the study of media effects provides its own strongpoints, while triangulation (e.g., finding similar results using different methodologies) is said to provide the strongest support for a causal association between exposure to media violence and demonstrating aggressive or violent behaviour (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). The following discussion will outline three methodological approaches to the study of media effects (e.g., experimental, cross-sectional, and longitudinal), highlight their usefulness for supporting media-effects arguments, and present some findings that have emerged from studies that have used these methodologies.

Experimental studies allow researchers to observe whether exposure to media violence leads to short-term increases in aggression. In these studies, participants are (typically) randomly assigned to groups who either watch a violent video or a non-violent video.

In a short time period following the video viewing, which can range from a few minutes to a few days, participants' aggressive behaviour, thoughts or emotions are observed (e.g., their aggressive free-play behaviour is recorded, the punishment they administer to others is measured, they are asked to self-report thoughts or emotions of aggression). Anderson and colleagues (2003) report that these types of studies typically find that viewing violent media content leads both children and older youth to behave more aggressively and have more aggressive thoughts and emotions. They additionally report that youth who are predisposed to being aggressive, or who have been aroused or provoked, especially demonstrate these effects. Media effects, however, can range in statistical significance and are typically categorized as being either weak/small, moderate, or strong (see Table 1 for a practical example of the categorization of effect sizes). Anderson and colleagues (2003) report that media violence effect sizes are "moderate on the average" and vary greatly depending on the outcome measure used (e.g., effect sizes are smaller for more serious outcomes than for less serious outcomes). They conclude that the average effect sizes generated by experimental studies are large enough to warrant social concern (Anderson et al., 2003).

Cross-sectional studies consist largely of surveys and are said to have provided, over the past 40 years, consistent evidence that young peoples' physical aggression, verbal aggression, and aggressive thoughts are correlated with the amount of violent television and film they regularly watch (for reviews see Chaffee, 1972; Comstock, 1980; Eysenck and Nias, 1978; Huesmann and Miller, 1994, as cited in Anderson et al., 2003). The size of these correlations is typically small to moderate and tends to be higher for elementary-school children than for adolescents and adults (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). Surveys are said to provide support for the causal conclusions of experimental studies, in that they demonstrate that the short-term effects identified in experimental studies are also generalizable to real-life violence (Huesmann, 2007). Still, surveys do not indicate whether media violence causes aggression or whether some other factor leads the same individuals who watch more violence to behave more aggressively than their peers (Anderson et al., 2003).

Longitudinal studies are said to be especially useful in the media effects debate, as they provide grounds to discredit arguments that it is aggressive individuals who seek out violent media, as opposed to the preferred argument that violent media leads to aggression. Longitudinal studies typically measure how much violent television children watch at time A (e.g., age 7) and how much aggressive behaviour they demonstrate at time B (e.g., age 15). It is important, however, that longitudinal studies of media effects focus on the time spent viewing violent television, as opposed to total television viewing time, as the latter is said to likely underestimate the effects of violent television (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). Given the expense and difficulty of conducting longitudinal studies, they are few and far between. Still, some studies suggest that while youth media violence exposure predicts later aggression, high aggressiveness in childhood does not lead to frequent viewing of television violence later in life (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). Anderson and colleagues (2003) report that on average, the size of media effects in longitudinal studies are small to moderate, depending on the time lag (e.g., how much time elapsed between the initial and secondary measures). On the other hand, there is some evidence that suggests that more aggressive children tend to watch more violence than their less aggressive peers (Anderson et al., 2003). It has also been found that total time watching television can also predict later aggressive behaviour, even after controlling for factors such as childhood neglect and neighbourhood characteristics (Johnson, Cohen, Smailes, Kasen and Brook, 2002). The fact that the amount of time children spend watching television is predictive of aggressive behaviour may indeed suggest that other factors account for children's television viewing time and aggressive behaviour. Still, Anderson and colleagues (2003) state that there is stronger evidence that suggests that seeing a lot of media violence is a precursor of increased aggression, even when other factors are controlled for statistically (e.g., social class, intellectual functioning, prior level of aggressiveness, parenting).

Three New Studies and Their Implications

Although for the purpose of this report only the findings of a few specific studies have been detailed, it seems important and relevant to provide some of the latest findings generated by three studies conducted by Anderson and colleagues (2007). They used the general aggression model to conduct an experimental, a cross-sectional and a longitudinal study (with a lag-time period of two to six months). Their primary focus was on the effect of playing violent video games on short-term aggressive behaviour, the correlation between violent video game exposure and aggressive behaviours among high school students, and the long-term effects of violent video games on aggression and pro-social behaviour among elementary school children. While the reported findings and conclusions tended to support Anderson and colleagues' hypothesis (i.e., that violent video game exposure leads to increased aggression), two other important and contentious findings emerged.

First, their findings suggest that when statistically controlling for other factors that may moderate the relation between exposure to violent video games and aggression, the effect of media violence exposure on aggression becomes non-significant. In their experimental study, they observed the effects of playing violent video games on aggressive behaviour (e.g., playing a noise blast at varying levels of intensity to punish an alleged opponent). While they report that their experimental manipulation (i.e., having youth play violent video games) led to increased aggressive behaviour, controlling for other factors such as media violence exposure (the composite of television, film, and video game violence exposure), sex and age made the media violence exposure effect non-significant (i.e., media violence exposure did not predict aggressive behaviour). This finding is contrary to what one would expect based on their prior arguments (e.g., that exposure to media violence can have long-term effects that facilitate short-term effects on aggression).

They found similar results for their cross-sectional survey and longitudinal study. In the survey study, they statistically controlled for participants' sex, normative aggressive beliefs (i.e., believing that aggressive acts are common), violence orientation (based on a composite measure of participants' attitudes toward violence and their reported anger and hostility), and exposure to violence in television and film. They found that when controlling for these factors, exposure to media violence (in television and film) was no longer related to violent behaviour and physical aggression. Similarly, in the analyses of their longitudinal study, they found that when controlling for other factors (e.g., total amount of time spent watching television, parental involvement, hostile attribution bias, sex, race, and the amount of time elapsed between initial and secondary measures), the association between exposure to television and movie violence and physical aggression became non-significant. Note that two additional criticisms may also be lodged against their longitudinal study. First, one may criticize their characterization of this study as longitudinal because, in some cases, their initial and secondary measures occurred within the span of two months. Second, although they report that exposure to video game violence leads to physical aggression, their statistical analyses failed to provide key information (i.e., measures of how well this proposed directionality of the relation fits the data compared with alternative directionalities) that would have supported this causal relation and negated alternative interpretations (e.g., that aggression leads to playing violent video games).

Surprisingly, the authors chalk up the lack of a significant relation between exposure to media violence and aggressive behaviour to the fact that the violent video game effect seems to be outweighing the media effects (e.g., perhaps interactive media violence is more strongly related to violent behaviour than exposure to non-interactive media violence is). This seems counterintuitive, however, as applying this argument to real life would suggest that youth who experience high levels of interaction with real-life violence/aggression should similarly be non-affected by media violence. However, it seems unlikely that proponents of the media effects argument would support such a claim, as they argue that exposure to media violence is an *added* risk factor for real-life violence/aggression (e.g., community violence, family practices) (Anderson, Gentile and Buckley, 2007). If exposure to media violence is indeed an added risk for aggression, one would expect that its effects would remain significant even after controlling for other factors. However, this is not the case. As such, these three studies suggest that exposure to media violence does not lead to increased aggression.

Other findings that emerged suggest that when statistically controlling for other factors, the ability to predict aggressive behaviour based on exposure to highly interactive media violence (e.g., violent video game exposure) substantially decreases. For example, in the cross-sectional survey study, the predictive value of exposure to violent video games for aggressive behaviour ranged from 20 per cent to just over two per cent after controlling for other factors. That is, only considering the effect of exposure to violent video games predicts 20 per cent of aggressive behaviour; however, considering other important factors reduces the amount of aggressive behaviour predicted by violent video game exposure alone to about two per cent. Similar findings emerged for the amount of violent behaviour predicted by exposure to violent video games. This suggests that purported media effects may in fact be accounted for by other factors. More importantly, Anderson and colleagues' findings seem to suggest that, had they statistically controlled for additional factors (e.g., prior victimization, sensation seeking), the effects of media violence could have further diminished.

Based on a report by the US Department of Health and Human Services (2001), Anderson and colleagues (2007) claim that the effect of exposure to violent video games is comparable in size to other risk factors for violence in the peak years of offending (i.e., ages 15–18), such as gang membership (see Table 1). However, in reporting risk factors for violent behaviour, the US Department of Health and Human Services not only separates early risk factors (for youth aged 6–11) and late risk factors (for youth aged 12–14), they also only include exposure to television violence in the early risk factor category and report that it has an estimated small effect size (.13). Anderson and colleagues (2007) wrongly compared their video game violence effect size (.30), which was generated from a sample of youth aged 7–11 and by only controlling for sex and not for other important factors, to other factors in the late risk factor category (i.e., they should have compared it to factors in the early risk factor category). More importantly, the report itself concluded that "it [is] extremely difficult to distinguish between the relatively small long-term effects of exposure to media violence and those of other influences" (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2000).

The US Department of Health and Human Services (2001) also reports that, while risk factors may be additive, the timing of risk factors and the onset of violence are connected: "[S]tudies show that many youths with late-onset violence did not encounter the childhood risk factors responsible for early-onset violence. For these youths, risk factors for violence emerged in adolescence" (Huizinga et al., 1995; Moffitt et al., 1996; Patterson and Yoerger, 1997; Simons et al., 1994, as cited in US Department of Health and Human Services, 2001, Ch. 4). This is noteworthy because much of the media effects literature stipulates that many short-term effects are apparent for younger children (up to about age 10), but that findings are less consistent for older children and adolescents (i.e., it does not seem as though exposure to media violence causes violent behaviour)

(Freedman, 2002; Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005). Moreover, longitudinal claims that early exposure to media violence leads to late-onset violence seem doubtful given the interaction between the timing of risk factors and violent behaviour.

Evidence Not Supporting the Media Effects Argument

In light of some of the points outlined above, many criticisms have been lodged against purported media-effects findings. Anderson and his colleagues have been criticized by others for failing to account for socio-historical facts and crime trends that do not support their claims. For example, Ferguson (2002) suggests that purported media effects are an attempt to simplify the problem of violence, and that claims that rises in violence have coincided with the prominence of television (since the 1950s) ignore other surges in violence that occurred prior to the prominence of violent media.

Other reviews of the media-effects literature suggest that, while some studies provide support for short-term media effects on attitudes and behaviour, they also often suffer from methodological problems and the findings tend to be inconsistent. Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2005) reviewed five meta-analyses (i.e., analyses which statistically combine the results of several studies) and one quasi-systematic review (i.e., a review of relevant studies) of media-effects and found that there is evidence of substantial short-term effects of violent imagery in television, film, and video games on children and adolescents' thoughts, emotions, and aggression. However, they report that the evidence is less consistent for older children and adolescents. Moreover, they found that many studies fail to establish causal associations, and that few studies have considered the importance of background factors such as family violence when assessing media effects. As such, the relative contribution of media violence to aggressive behaviour is difficult to establish (Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005).

In his encompassing systematic review of 200 studies, Canadian scholar Jonathan Freedman (2002) concludes that there is a lack of scientific support for the prevailing belief that media violence is connected to violent behaviour. Moreover, the ever-increasing popularity of violent television, films and video games has coincided with a dramatic decrease in violent crime (Freedman, 2002). Still, some believe that the availability of television in the United States and in Canada since the 1950s, and the increase in violent crime between 1960 and 1990, demonstrates a clear media violence effect. However, there is evidence that suggests that other factors such as family structure changes (e.g., higher divorce rates, more single parents), an increasing gap between rich and poor, and a sharp increase in young males due to the postwar baby boom all likely contributed to this trend (Freedman, 2002).

There is, according to Freedman, some survey research that has identified a weak but positive correlation between exposure to violent media and aggression for children up to about age ten. However, as is widely known, correlations do not mean or imply causation, and so one must assume that this relation can mean a number of things. For example, children who prefer violent programs also tend to be more aggressive than children who watch less-violent programs (Freedman, 2002). Survey research is therefore problematic because of its inability to establish causation. While longitudinal studies face the same limitations of survey research in terms of establishing causation, they do provide the ability to observe whether same-age correlations increase over time because, arguably, media exposure effects should be cumulative. In his review of longitudinal studies, Freedman finds that same-age correlations do not increase over time, and that the expected spreading apart across time also does not occur. That is, if exposure to media violence causes aggression, children who are equally aggressive at age eight, but watch different amounts of media violence, should differ in aggression at a later age. However, this is not the case.

Experimental studies that can, to some degree, overcome problems of temporal order and therefore establish causal relations, often suffer because of their weak measures of aggression (e.g., measuring aggression on a Bobo doll). Some experimental studies that use relatively good measures of aggression support a relation between exposure to media violence and behaving aggressively (28 per cent); however, 55 per cent do not, and a sizeable number present mixed findings (16 per cent) (Freedman, 2002). In addition, some experimental studies of media effects suggest that factors aside from the manipulation (e.g., viewing violent videos) may lead to increases in observed aggression. For example, a study by Leyens and Dunand (1991) found that when adult participants were led to expect to see either a violent or a non-violent movie, but did not actually see a movie, those who expected the violent movie were subsequently more aggressive than those who expected the non-violent movie. In this case, it seems as though the mere expectation of being exposed to violence can lead to short-term increases in aggressive behaviour, and that such increases are independent of actually viewing media violence.

In light of his encompassing and thorough review of the literature, Freedman argues that despite previous reviews that suggest that media violence does cause violent behaviour, a review of the literature does not support this conclusion. Moreover, he states that before a theory or hypothesis can be considered correct, the research testing it must produce "results that support it with great consistency" (Freedman, 2002: 199). His review of the literature suggests that regardless of the method used, fewer than half of the studies have found results that supported the hypothesis, implying that there is great inconsistency in the findings. In response to comparisons of media violence effects with advertising effects, Freedman suggests that there is a vast difference between the goals of these two media types. While advertising is designed to advance a specific, clear and unmistakable message (e.g., car commercials which enumerate the qualities of a specific car and urge consumers to purchase it), media violence is not meant to be persuasive, just popular. Although some argue that media violence may put forth implicit messages (e.g., that using violence to solve problems is appropriate) or provide for learning experiences, Freedman is highly skeptical of these claims given the fictional nature of the media violence that is most often under study and the frequent mixed messages that accompany these depictions.

A criticism that can be lodged against both Anderson and colleagues (2007) and Freedman (2002) is that many of the studies they cite to support their respective views of media effects are somewhat dated (i.e., from the 1960s to the mid-1990s). Many recent studies of media effects seek to identify "third factors" that may account for both youths' consumption of violent media and aggressive behaviour (see Gallo, 2003; Kubrin, 2005; Miranda and Claes, 2004), and reviews of the literature suggest that it is important to do so (Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005). For example, Chen et al. (2006) found that sensation seeking (e.g., how much individuals like going to wild parties, doing "crazy" things just for fun, doing things on impulse) operates as a confound variable in the relation between rap music and aggressive behaviour. In their study of 1,056 college students, Chen et al. used music preference to predict aggressive behaviour. They hypothesized that rap music would be most predictive of aggressive behaviour and tested their hypothesis by controlling for other factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, level of sensation seeking, and listening to music genres other than rap. They initially found that listening to rap music "often"[9] significantly and positively predicted aggressive behaviour (e.g., being in a fist-fight or shoving match, being in a gang, threatening someone with a knife or gun, or attacking someone intending to seriously injure that person). However, the authors found that sensation seeking also significantly and positively predicted aggressive behaviour, and did so to a stronger degree than listening to rap music. Moreover, they found that individuals with higher levels of sensation seeking were more likely to listen to music genres that were positively associated with aggression. To address the potential relation between sensation-seeking and aggressive behaviour, the authors added sensation-seeking to their analyses and found that the association between music preference and aggressive behaviour had significantly decreased. The authors concluded that sensation-seeking is likely a factor that contributes to (and obfuscates) the relation between aggressive behaviours and music preference, as it seems to mediate such a relation. One may therefore hypothesize that third, fourth and fifth factors frequently operate in reported media-effects findings. Given these and other findings, researchers should make concerted efforts to control for other factors when making claims about media effects. Similarly, reviews of the literature should consider whether other important factors were controlled for when assessing media effects.

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[9] *Note that "often" was not specifically defined and the respondents' subjective assessments were relied upon.*

Research about media effects on youth has also led to focusing on the potential harmful effects of violent video games. A review of the literature conducted by Bensley and Van Eenwyk (2001) suggests that the role of video games in violence and aggression is limited in either size or scope. Findings are not supportive of a major public health concern about violent video games' potential to lead to real-life violence. The authors report that for young children (ages about 4 to 8), there is some evidence of increased aggressive free-play behaviour following playing violent video games. However, results are inconsistent and inconclusive for teens and college-aged individuals. Their review may be criticized, however, as it included measures of aggression that have, in other places, been reprehended (e.g., measures of aggression against a Bobo doll) (see Freedman, 2002). Still, when considering three other reviews and their own, the authors conclude that there are major gaps in the existing research (e.g., lack of well-controlled, randomized research), which effectively prohibit claims that violent video games lead to real-life violence.

Explaining Concerns about Media Violence

Despite a lack of substantial findings, politicians and scholars alike scapegoat the media as a cause of violent behaviour. Some researchers have suggested that individuals' beliefs about media effects on behaviour may be due to the "third-person effect." The third-person effect suggests that individuals tend to believe that others are more affected by negative media messages than they themselves are (Hoffner et al., 2001). This effect is couched within attribution theory, which posits that individuals attempt to make sense of their environment by identifying underlying causes of behaviour. In this process, individuals tend to overestimate dispositional causes of behaviour for others (e.g., personality, traits) and situational factors for themselves (e.g., social pressures) (Hoffner et al., 2001). For example, McLeod, Eveland and Nathanson (1997) found that when presented violent and misogynistic hip hop lyrics, individuals perceived others as being more affected by these messages than they themselves were. Furthermore, this perception correlated positively with supporting censorship of such lyrics (even when controlling for factors such as political conservatism).

There is also evidence that suggests that third-person effects may especially be present when people consider the potential effects of the media on low-status individuals (Grier and Brumbaugh, 2007). Literature on status suggests that individuals with a low social status, indicated by factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, age and gender, tend to be seen as less competent than high status individuals (Conway, Pizzamiglio and Mount, 1996; Conway and Vartanian, 2000; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). Similarly, third-person effects tend to favour downward comparisons to others, in which the *other* person is seen as less competent than the self, thus sustaining positive self-images

(Hoffner et al., 2001). Furthermore, the more distant one feels from the third person, the more one is prone to stereotype that person as likely to be influenced by the media (particularly when media-effects knowledge is primed) (Duck and Mullin, 1995, as cited in Hoffner et al., 2001). In this respect, certain social groups may be especially vulnerable to third-person effects. Not surprisingly, and more importantly, Hoffner and colleagues (2001) found that people believe that children are more likely than adults are to be influenced by media effects.

The third-person effect may partly explain why scholars, politicians and many individuals believe that media violence causes real-life violence. That these concerns mostly centre around youth is further explained by the fact that youth tend to occupy a low social status and are considered to be relatively incompetent (e.g., in discerning media messages). Furthermore, there is reason to believe that salience is also related to the third-person effect. Hoffner and colleagues (2001) suggest that when considering the causes of societal problems, the effects of television violence may be more salient than other factors, such as poverty and drug use, which many people have not experienced personally. Combined, these factors emphasize why, when pressed for explanations for youths' occasional aggressive and violent behaviours, many are quick to turn to the media.

Concluding Remarks

This review is meant to provide the reader with a holistic understanding of the media effects debate. First, one must consider the theoretical models meant to explain media effects, which are essentially two-part. While some theories suggest that media violence leads to the social learning of violent behaviour, other theories suggest that entertainment is typically used to manage moods, and that those who are aggressive actively seek out violent media content. A review of some of the research on media effects suggests that there is some support for the social learning perspective. Small media effects have been observed in laboratory settings, and cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have revealed some associations between consuming violent media and behaving aggressively or violently; however, the findings do not provide clear and consistent evidence that media violence causes aggressive and violent behaviour. At best, one could surmise that there is an association between media violence and aggression. However, claims that this association is causal are met with serious criticisms. Many studies that are said to support this causal association are fraught with methodological problems, such as weak measures of aggression and failing to consider other important factors when measuring the effects of media violence.

Theories that do not suggest that there is a causal relation between exposure to media violence and aggression or violent behaviour are also supported by substantial evidence. For example, research is said to generally support the notion that the enjoyment of media violence is highest for viewers who possess characteristics associated with aggression (Oliver, Kim and Sanders, 2006). Social learning theories are further plagued by research that suggests that the developmental stages of children greatly influence the impact of media violence, and that media violence does not have the cumulative effects one may expect. For example, research on the frightening effects of media suggests that the element that frightens children changes as they mature. With increasing maturity, children respond less to the perceptible characteristics of the media (e.g., the imagery and appearance) and respond more to the conceptual aspects of the media (Cantor, 2006). If such is the case for the frightening effects of media, one might hypothesize that the effects of media violence are likely similar. As such, the alleged underlying messages of violent content may not emphatically reach youth until they are somewhat older, effectively casting doubt on claims that young children learn long-term social messages from media violence.

Despite the lack of consistent support for a causal relation between exposure to media violence and aggressive or violent behaviour, this review has shown that there have been persistent and substantial attempts by various scholars and organizations to categorically state that media violence causes aggression and violence (even when substantial evidence suggests the contrary). Research on the third-person effect suggests that individuals are inclined to believe that the media can have effects on viewers, especially if these viewers are children, due to factors such as the salience of media violence and downward comparisons to others. Combined, these factors provide a narrative for the widespread misattributions of real-life violence and crime to media violence.

In concluding, the author offers the following insightful remarks of P. Vorderer, F. Steen and E. Chan (2006), which the author believes illustrate some of the most important questions those considering the potential effects of media violence should bear in mind while pursuing such enquiries:

> When we approach entertainment as an experience that is sought after and enjoyed, we encounter the enduring questions of its psychological cause. Why do human beings, across a range of different cultures and historical periods, seek out and enjoy the experience of entertainment? Why do they select and create certain types of situations- and not others- to entertain themselves? Why do they seek entertainment so often, for such long periods of time, and in so many different situations and settings? To ask these questions is to adopt the perspective that entertainment is a *response* to a certain set of opportunities rather than a feature of a particular media product itself [emphasis added] (Vorderer, Steen and Chan, 2006: 3).

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Chapter 11:

Perceptions of Injustice, Crime and Violence[10]

Research evidence suggests that racial and class differences exist in people's perceptions of how criminal justice is applied. This section of this report explores the possibility that these perceptions of injustice may help explain race and class differences in criminal behaviour, including violence.

A large body of American research indicates that most African-Americans are considerably more likely than white Americans to perceive discrimination and bias within the criminal justice system, even after controlling for age, class, education and income. For example, in a national study analyzing public perceptions of criminal injustice, Hagan and Albonetti (1982) produced three major findings:

> (1) that black Americans are considerably more likely than white Americans to perceive criminal injustice (2) that regardless of race, members of the surplus population [unemployed] are significantly more likely than members of other classes to perceive criminal injustice; and (3) that class position conditions the relationship of race to the perception of criminal injustice, with the division between the races in these perceptions being most acute in the professional managerial class. (Hagan and Albonetti, 1982: 352)

Interestingly, in their analysis, racial differences in perceptions of criminal injustice appear to increase with class position. One reason for this finding "may be that whites who manage to stay out of the surplus population also are able to avoid criminal injustice, while working class blacks and black members of the PMC [professional-managerial class] may continue, directly or indirectly, to experience criminal injustice, perhaps partly as a consequence of the apparent contradiction in their race and class positions" (Hagan and Albonetti, 1982: 352). The opinions of the people in this national survey, and Hagan and Albonetti's previous comment, suggest that racial bias exists within the American criminal justice system – or at least there is a clear perception of criminal injustice.

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[10] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Andrea McCalla, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Another study that explored the impact of race on perceptions of criminal injustice also showed significant racial differences in opinions. Henderson, Cullen, Cao, Browning and Kopache (1997) surveyed residents of Ohio and found that while blacks and whites share some views on crime, they were persistently divided on the neutrality of the criminal justice system. African-American respondents expressed the belief that Blacks compared with whites were more likely to be stopped by the police, jailed, and sentenced to death, but only a minority of whites shared this view. Even after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, experience with the criminal justice system, experience with crime, neighbourhood disorder, and political and crime-related ideology, the effect of race remained. However, contrary to Hagan and Albonetti's finding, perceptions of injustice were strongest among the least affluent African-Americans. The findings from this study further contribute to the existence of a racial divide in perceived criminal injustice.

Similarly, in a study of perceptions of racial discrimination by the criminal justice system focusing on police, Weitzer and Tuch (1999) also found that race and class strongly predict people's attitudes. One of their most important findings was that middle-class blacks are sometimes actually more critical of the police and justice system than lower-class blacks are. Consistent with previous research, this study shows that race is the strongest predictor of attitudes toward the police and criminal justice agencies. While whites tend to view these institutions as colour-blind, blacks were more likely to perceive bias and report personal experience of discriminatory police treatment (Weitzer and Tuch, 1999). Results also show that class does influence people's perceptions of the justice system. Higher-educated blacks were significantly more critical of criminal justice agencies than higher educated whites were. However, while better-educated whites were more likely to perceive discrimination against blacks than less-educated whites were, still they were not inclined to see police racism as widespread (Weitzer and Tuch, 1999).

Furthermore, in a large-scale study of youth perceptions of criminal injustice among 18,000 Chicago high school students, Hagan, Shedd, and Payne (2005), using a comparative conflict analysis, found that black youth collectively perceive more criminal injustice than Latino youth do, who in turn perceive more criminal injustice than white youth do. Hagan et al. (2005) suggest that this is probably resulting from the fact that African-American youth are at a greater risk of justice system surveillance, apprehension, and mistreatment compared with Latino-Americans, who are at a greater risk than whites. The study also found that when structural sources of variation were taken into account, minority youth perceptions of injustice were more closely aligned, but set apart from those of white youth. Additionally, the study showed that the perceptions of injustice among both African-American and Latino youth varied depending on the proportion of white students in the school. As the proportion of white students increased, so did the perceptions of criminal injustice. However, once the proportion of white students ranged from about one-third to one-half, minority perceptions of criminal injustice seemed to decline. This finding suggests that certain levels of integration may produce perceptual and attitudinal changes to close the gap in racial perceptions of injustice.

Recent studies suggest that racial divisions in perceptions of injustice also exist in Canada. For example, in 1994, the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System conducted a survey of over 1,200 Toronto adults who self-identified as black (417), Chinese (405) or white (435). Results from the survey suggest that, in general, people believe that the police discriminate more than criminal court judges, and black respondents are more likely to perceive police and judicial discrimination compared with either Chinese or white respondents, regardless of age, social class, or education (Wortley, 1996). The results show that 76 per cent of black Torontonians believe that the police treat them more harshly than they treat white people, and 60 per cent also feel that criminal courts treat members of their racial group worse than they do whites. Black respondents were also more likely to report police and judicial discrimination against Chinese people, even more so than Chinese people themselves. Further analysis also shows that black respondents are also more likely to perceive that discrimination toward them is severe and commonplace in comparison with their white and Chinese counterparts (Wortley 1996). These perceptions of discrimination, however, were not limited to the black community. In fact, both white (51 per cent) and Chinese (56 per cent) respondents reported that they think the police treat black people worse than they treat others. Similarly, over a third of Chinese (35 per cent) and almost 40 per cent of white respondents think that blacks are treated more harshly than others by the courts (Wortley 1996). Although a significant proportion of the respondents also feel that the Chinese are discriminated against by the police and the courts, they do not believe the discrimination to be as widespread as that faced by the black community. This finding implies a racial hierarchy of treatment by the criminal justice system, such that blacks are affected the most, whites the least, and Asians somewhere in between (Wortley, 1996).

In a much smaller-scale survey of Chinese community leaders, perceptions of discrimination in the criminal justice system were also noted. For example, almost three quarters of the Chinese representatives (73.3 per cent) in this study believe that systemic racism is prevalent in the criminal justice system, and the vast majority (84.3 per cent) feel that the current system is in need of reform (Chow, 1996). Similarly, in the

Commission's survey above, Chinese respondents thought that they suffered differential treatment about half of the time. In addition, about a quarter (23.9 per cent) of Chinese leaders feel that Chinese accused are treated as guilty by the courts (Chow, 1996). A significant proportion of these community leaders (40.8 per cent) also believe that racial and ethnic minorities in general are less likely to receive attractive plea-bargaining offers. Furthermore, over a third (36.6 per cent) of the sample feels that racial and ethnic minorities are also vulnerable to discriminatory treatment within prisons. Moreover, "over half of the respondents (54.8 per cent) disagreed or strongly disagreed that most lawyers were sensitive to issues faced by ethnic and racial minorities. Only 45.1 per cent of the respondents held the view that linguistically and culturally appropriate services were readily available to members of the Chinese community" (Chow, 1996: 482). These Chinese community leaders are also clearly critical of many aspects of the criminal justice system.

Although to a lesser extent than the public generally, even justice professionals perceive that racial discrimination exists within the criminal justice system. The Commission on Systemic Racism in the Criminal Justice System also surveyed judges' and lawyers' perceptions of racial discrimination. The findings show substantial variation among justice professionals in their perceptions of discrimination in Ontario's criminal courts. Significant proportions of defence lawyers and recently appointed judges in the provincial division seem to think that white and racial minority accused are not treated equally. For example, while only about one in every eight (13 per cent) crown attorneys believe that the courts do not treat white and racial minority people the same, a third of recent provincial judges (33 per cent) and defence attorneys (34 per cent) (with less than 40 per cent racial minority clientele) think this way. In addition, more than half of the defence attorneys (52 per cent) with greater than 40 per cent racial minority clientele also feel that white and racial minority accused are not treated the same way (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 2000). These justice professionals may share an interest in the way the system is perceived, but they clearly have different views about the extent to which racial discrimination permeates the system today. Interestingly, though many justice professionals seem to flatly reject the suggestion of racial discrimination, they somehow are able to acknowledge differential treatment based on class or poverty (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 2000). However, since class and income bias are inherent in Canadian society, it may not be perceived as a fault of justice professionals. Thus, unlike charges of racial discrimination, "since the existence of class or income bias is not thought to reflect badly on individual judges or lawyers, it may be easier for justice professionals to acknowledge this problem without feeling personally responsible for it" (Commission on System Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 2000).

Additional research shows that racial profiling further affects people's perceptions of the justice system, especially the police. In *The Usual Suspects: Race, Police Stops and Perceptions of Criminal Injustice* (1997), Scot Wortley argues that police stops serve to increase perceptions of criminal injustice for black respondents, but have the opposite effect for well-educated whites and Asians. Using data from the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice system, conducted by York University's Institute for Social Research (ISR), Wortley shows that black respondents, particularly males, are more much more likely than their white or Asian counterparts to be stopped and questioned by the police, regardless of age or social class. Black respondents (36.2 per cent) were also much more likely, compared with Chinese (two per cent) and white (2.7 per cent) respondents, to perceive that they were only stopped because of their race. These perceptions of profiling had an impact on their opinions of criminal injustice. According to Weitzer and Tuch (2002), "citizens' perceptions of police stops may be considered just as important as the objective reality of such stops. Stops perceived as racially motivated may increase the frequency of confrontations between police and motorists and generate distrust of the police among those who are stopped" (Weitzer and Tuch, 2002). After controlling for age, education, income, and other variables, race was found to be the strongest predictor of perceptions of discrimination within the Canadian criminal justice system. On average, black respondents scored almost 30 points higher on the criminal injustice scale than whites or Asians did (Wortley, 1997). However, the fact that blacks are more likely to report being stopped by the police did not completely explain why they perceive more criminal injustice than whites or Asians do. While being stopped does increase perceptions of injustice for blacks, it does not seem to significantly increase these perceptions in whites or Asians. In addition, "while stops appear to marginally increase perceptions of discrimination for less educated respondents from all racial backgrounds, stops decrease perceptions of injustice for university educated whites and Asians, while dramatically increasing perceptions of criminal injustice among university educated blacks" (Wortley, 1997). Interestingly, the analysis shows a negative relationship between age at the time of immigration and perceptions of injustice inherent in the police and courts. This means that people who were either born in Canada or immigrated at an early age actually perceive more discrimination in the system than recent immigrants do. Maybe recent immigrants have experienced a more oppressive criminal justice system in their country of origin, or maybe people who have been in Canada long enough have already witnessed the racism and injustice that exists here (Wortley, 1997).

Furthermore, in a recent survey of over 3,400 Toronto high school students, perceptions of injustice by the police were found. Almost three quarters (74 per cent) of black youth reported that members of their racial group are more likely than members of other racial groups to be unfairly stopped and questioned by the police. Only 31 per cent of South Asians, 27 per cent of Asians, and 13 per cent of whites believed that this is the case for members of their racial group (Tanner and Wortley, 2002). This perception of injustice is not limited to policing. In fact, another study of 1, 870 high school students in the Metropolitan Toronto area found racial differences in the perceptions of school disciplinary practices (Ruck and Wortley, 2002). This study revealed significant racial/ethnic differences in perceptions of differential treatment. For example, "black students were significantly more likely than South Asian, Asian, White, and students from 'other' racial/ethnic backgrounds to perceive that teachers at their school treat students from their racial group worse or much worse than students from other racial groups" (Ruck and Wortley, 2002: 190). Similarly, black students were more likely, compared with students from all other racial groups, to believe that students from their racial background face discriminatory treatment in school suspension practices. The black students in this study also felt that students from their racial group were more likely than any other students to have the police called on them. In terms of student's perceptions of the severity of police treatment against their racial group at school, once again black students were significantly more likely than students from the other racial/ethnic backgrounds to believe that they would be treated worse or much worse by the police (Ruck and Wortley, 2002). While minority students from all racial groups were more likely than whites to perceive discrimination, this study also shows that South Asian students, more than any other racial minority students, had perceptions of differential treatment similar to those of the Black students, though not as pronounced. It is clear that minority status is an extremely important predictor of students' perceptions of inequality regarding how school administrators, as well as the police at school, treat them.

Further research from the United States confirms that such perceptions of discrimination are definitely not limited to the criminal justice system. Indeed, studies consistently reveal that black people, regardless of their current socio-economic position, perceive much higher levels of inequality and discrimination in education, employment, health care, and housing (Siegelman and Welch, 1991; Feagin and Sikes, 1994; Morin, 1995). In addition, while the majority of white Americans believe that black economic inequality is the result of black motivational weaknesses, most black Americans believe that inequality is the result of white racism and other structural barriers (Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Kluegel, 1990; Feagin, 1991; Kluegel and Smith, 1986). According to Kluegel (1990), "we seem to have reached an era of stable, comfortable acceptance by whites of the black-white economic gap" (524). Research in Canada suggests that, "despite the historical differences between race relations in Canada and race relations in the United States, Canadians and Americans are roughly similar in their attitudes and behaviour toward racial minorities" (Reitz and Breton, 1998: 65). Although the social distance between the majority and the racial minorities in both countries has arguably declined over the years, a substantial gap still exists. Canadian research and government statistics can document the existence of racial inequality in economic outcomes, employment, and education – racism is still a problem (Satzewich, 1998). Similarly to findings in the American research, perceptions of social injustice, and not just criminal injustice, are widespread among racial minorities in Canada (Henry et al., 1995).

The importance of all these perceptions should not be underestimated, for "how an individual perceives his or her environment may be more important than 'objective reality', in that one's perceptions will influence how one responds to the environment" (Ruck and Wortley, 2002). Some researchers have argued that the greater the perceptions of criminal injustice, the less likely people are to trust criminal justice professionals (Wortley, 1997). However, the impact of a widespread belief that the criminal justice system is unfair is only now being investigated. Indeed, Katherine Russell argues that perceptions of injustice may contribute to the higher levels of offending among the black population in America. She claims that, "for blacks the perceived existence of unfair sanctions, combined with the absence or lack of sanctions for race-based harms, cause a diminished faith in the justice system, which in turn sets the stage for criminal offending" (Russell, 1996: 609). Considering the strength of the current racial divide in perceived injustice, it is important to explore its consequences, for there may be an important link between perceptions of injustice and criminal offending that needs to be considered.

Linking Perceptions of Injustice and Crime

A review of some theoretical literature suggests that a connection between perceptions of injustice and crime might exist. Several theoretical traditions allude to this connection, including Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory, Tyler's (1990) compliance theory, Sherman's (1997) defiance theory, and Agnew's (1992) general strain theory (GST), though it is not fully articulated. Combining the concepts from these theories and the works they have produced demonstrates how perceptions of injustice can lead to crime. For example, Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory suggests that delinquents, like most people, are committed to conventional beliefs. They claim that "the juvenile delinquent would appear to be at least partially committed to the dominant social order in that he frequently exhibits guilt or shame when he violates its proscriptions, accords approval to certain conforming figures, and distinguishes between appropriate and inappropriate targets for his deviance" (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 666). According to Sykes and Matza, the norms and rules of society are flexible depending on the time, place, persons, and social circumstances, and this is reflected in the "defences to crimes" provided in the criminal law (i.e., pleas such as necessity, insanity, self-defence etc.) As such, they argue that "much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large" (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 666). These rationalizations more or less protect the individual from self-blame and the blame of others after the fact, and sometimes these rationalizations actually precede deviant behaviour, making it more possible. In this way, "disapproval flowing from internalized norms and conforming others in the social environment is neutralized, turned back, or deflected in advance" (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 667).

Sykes and Matza make a key point that research on deviant behaviour tends to overlook: throughout the process of learning these techniques of neutralization (before or after committing a crime), delinquents often perceives themselves as more sinned against than sinning (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 667). They also note that "on a priori grounds it might be assumed that these justifications for deviance will be more readily seized by segments of society for whom a discrepancy between common social ideals and social practice is most apparent" (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 669). In other words, delinquent individuals, on some level, believe that someone or a group of individuals has treated them unjustly in some way. Then, by using the techniques of neutralization, they are able to simultaneously maintain the core values of society and yet view their violations as "acceptable" if not "right" under the given circumstances. Sykes and Matza identify five major justifications: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Basically, in denial of responsibility, delinquents blame forces outside their individual control for their deviant activity (e.g., unloving parents, bad friends, or a poverty-stricken neighbourhood). The denial of injury relates to instances where delinquents feel that no harm was done to anyone (e.g., vandalism or auto theft), whereas in denial of the victim, delinquents puts themselves in a position of authority, deciding what is right and wrong in society (e.g., attacks on homosexuals or hate crimes against racial minorities). The fourth technique is the condemnation of the condemners, which is another way of saying "rejecting those who have rejected you." Essentially, delinquents shift attention from their wrongdoing by attacking the actions of those who disapprove of them. Sometimes, this cynicism becomes hardened and is directed against those who are supposed to enforce the norms of society (e.g., police and teachers). The appeal to higher loyalties suggests that delinquents choose to give in to the demands of their closer social groups (e.g., siblings, gang members, friends). They do not reject the norms of society, but "other norms, held to be more pressing or involving a higher loyalty, are accorded precedence" (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 669). It is clear that some of these techniques of neutralization appear to be better suited than others to particular deviant acts. Nonetheless, Sykes and Matza argue that these neutralizations are critical in reducing the effectiveness of social controls, and that they lie behind a large share of delinquent behaviours (Sykes and Matza, 1957: 669).

Recent American research suggests that such neutralizations are in fact associated with various deviant behaviours. For example, Coleman (1987) makes quite a case for the existence of these beliefs. He claims that "there are…ample data from both sociological research and the public statements of convicted offenders to construct a typology of the techniques of neutralization used by white-collar criminals" (411). Indeed, in his review of the well-established literature on white-collar crime, he illustrates at least six such neutralizations, which often involve the idea that it was a push of necessity. Support for the reality of neutralizations has also been found in relation to violence. Agnew (1994) used data from the second and third wave of the National Youth Survey (1978 and 1979) to examine the effects of neutralizations regarding violence. He found that most youth had internalized conventional beliefs and generally disapproved of delinquency (Agnew, 1994: 570). Only a small percentage of respondents showed approval of indifference to violence. However, consistent with Sykes and Matza, the majority of youth accepted one or more neutralizations for violence, and the acceptance of neutralizations was found to have a positive effect on violence. Agnew also found that neutralizations had the greatest effect on violence among youth with delinquent peers and those who disapproved of violence in general (Agnew, 1994). The findings from Coleman and Agnew's studies lend support to Sykes and Matza's neutralization theory; however, explaining the cause of these justifications for crime is more difficult. Coleman notes that "it is one thing to recognize the existence and operation of techniques of neutralization at various levels of society and in relation to various kinds of delinquency and crime, but it is quite another to account for the origins of the motivations that lead to these neutralizations" (Hagan et al., 1998: 3).

Perceptions of injustice could be added to the list of neutralization techniques. If offenders believe that the system is unjust, and that their chances of success are blocked, they may be less likely to trust officials and may be more likely to lose faith in the system and resort to crime. It is plausible that the perceived injustice essentially becomes a rationalization or justification for criminal behaviour. Indeed, work in the area of legitimacy and compliance suggests that people who believe that life is unfair, and that their best efforts are blocked by external forces such as racism or class interests, are more likely to break the law. In *Why People Obey the Law*, Tyler (1990) contrasts the instrumental and normative perspectives of compliance. The instrumental perspective suggests that people obey the law because of the threat of punishments they might face if they do not. This is in line with deterrence literature. By contrast, the normative perspective has to do with personal beliefs about morality and legitimacy. Morality deals with obeying the law because you feel that it is just, whereas legitimacy deals with obeying the law because you believe the authority enforcing the law is fair and has the right to dictate behaviour (Tyler, 1990). If compliance is appropriate because of an individuals' beliefs about how they should behave, then they will voluntarily assume the obligation to follow legal rules. Tyler argues that criminal justice authorities who focus mainly on the deterrent aspects of the law have long ignored the normative aspects of compliance –morality and legitimacy.

Using data from two waves of phone interviews in the Chicago area (1984 and 1985), Tyler examines the extent to which normative factors influence compliance with the law, independently of deterrence judgments (Tyler, 1990: 4). This longitudinal study asked questions regarding normative and instrumental views concerning the law as well as people's behaviour toward the law. Tyler found that legitimacy and perceived fairness of legal institutions are related to compliance with the law: the weaker the perception of fairness, the more frequent and severe the non-compliance of respondents. As Tyler states, "people obey the law because they believe it is proper to do so, they react to their experiences by evaluating their justice or injustice, and in evaluating the justice of their experiences they consider factors unrelated to outcome, such as whether they have had a chance to state their case and been treated with dignity and respect" (Tyler, 1990: 178).

Tyler's theory of normative compliance with respect to the law has very practical implications. While bad experiences have been found to have a significant impact on a perceptions of the quality of police service (Skogan, 2006), Tyler (1990) asserts that, if police officers and judges are more responsive to people's normative concerns (legitimate and moral), they will be able to exercise their authority more effectively – their rules will be accepted and obeyed voluntarily. Tyler argues that legal authorities gain when they receive cooperation from the public, and the key factor shaping public behaviour is the fairness of the processes used by legal agents (2003). However, when procedural justice expectations are not met, citizens may perceive mistreatment, which has the potential to create conflict between the police and the communities they serve. If members of disadvantaged communities, for example, feel marginalized by the police, they may cease to cooperate with legal authorities and rely on informal methods to address conflicts, which may lead to increases in violence (Kane, 2005). In a study of compromised police legitimacy, Kane (2005) found that police misconduct and over-enforcement predicted increases in the violent crime rates in precincts characterized by high or extreme disadvantage. This study highlighted the importance of police departments' meeting procedural justice expectations, especially in disadvantaged communities.

In addition, in a study of over 1,600 Los Angeles and Oakland residents in 1997 and 1998, Huo and Tyler (2000) found that people just want fairness in the process of rendering justice, whatever the outcome, though a positive outcome undoubtedly increased self-reported compliance among all ethnic groups (Huo and Tyler, 2000). The results showed that perceptions of unfair treatment were more prevalent among African-Americans and Latinos compared with whites, although they shared the understanding of what constitutes fair treatment. For all three groups, the perception of fair treatment was the most important factor in forming their reactions to the police and courts, and even more important than concerns about the outcomes of the process. As such, Huo and Tyler (2000) suggested that efforts on the part of legal authorities to act more fairly would lead to more positive reactions and higher rates of compliance among minority residents. Unfortunately, research consistently shows that visible minorities already tend to have more negative attitudes toward the police and are less likely to perceive officers as legitimate sources of authority (Engel, 2003; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Skogan, 2005; Tyler, 2005; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005), which may have a bearing on their non-compliance with the law and rates of offending.

This is consistent with Sherman's assertions of defiance theory. By combining concepts of Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming, Tyler's (1990) study of compliance, and Scheff and Retzingers's (1991) sociology of "master emotions," Sherman offers a specific and general theory of defiance to explain the conditions under which punishment increases crime, based on four key concepts (legitimacy, social bond, shame, and pride) in the emotional response to sanctioning experiences:

> Defiance is the net increase in the prevalence, incidence, or seriousness of future offending against a sanctioning community caused by a proud, shameless reaction to the administration of a criminal sanction. Specific or individual defiance is the reaction of one person to that person's own punishment. General defiance is the reaction of a group or collectivity to the punishment of one or more of its members. (Sherman, 1997: 459).

This theory argues that both specific and general defiance result from punishments that are perceived as unfair or excessive, unless deterrent effects (such as social bonds, shame, and pride) can counterbalance defiance and render the net effect of sanctions irrelevant (Sherman, 1997). In short, when offenders experience sanctioning conduct as illegitimate, future defiance is provoked, but if they experience it as legitimate, then sanctions are more likely to produce future deterrence (Sherman, 1997: 448). Thus, Sherman concludes, "crime might be reduced more by police and courts treating all citizens with fairness and respect than by increasing punishments" (Sherman, 1993: 445). Consistent with defiance theory, Piquero and Bouffard (2003) found that police actions that are likely to be perceived as unfair and stigmatizing increase the likelihood that citizens behave defiantly toward police officers. Recent support was also found in a Canadian study, which uses Sherman's defiance theory to explain gang membership. Using a targeted sampling strategy, over 500 urban youth attending schools in neighbourhoods known by police to have considerable gang activity were surveyed in 2001. The study found that the four principal concepts in defiance theory (legitimacy of sanctioning agents, social bond, acknowledgment of shame, and pride expressed by offenders) were predictors of gang membership. Even after including peer delinquency and definitions favourable to law violation in a multivariate analysis, legitimacy and pride remained significantly linked to the likelihood of gang membership (Brownfield, 2006).

While the research thus far has focused on the perceived fairness or legitimacy of the criminal justice system in isolation, recent Canadian research suggests that perceptions of justice in other areas of social life might be equally important in predicting deviant behaviour. In 1993, Baron and Hartnagel (1997) conducted a six-month study of 200 street youth in Edmonton, Alberta, in order to examine the role familial, school, labour market and street factors play in their criminality. They argued that people who blame themselves for their predicament might be less likely than those who are unwilling to accept responsibility to engage in crime (1997, 410). Baron and Hartnagel found that individuals who attributed their unemployment and poverty to outside forces – including government policies and corporate decision-making – were much more likely than those who blamed themselves to engage in criminal activity (Baron and Hartnagel, 1997). Criminal behaviour was influenced by such immediate factors as homelessness, drug and alcohol use, and criminal peers who engage in illegal behaviour, as well as a lack of income, job experiences, and perceptions of a blocked opportunity structure. Youths who suffered from long-term unemployment and rejected the meritocratic ideology were more likely to be involved in violent offences (Baron and Hartnagel, 1997). Their sparse employment histories seemed to undermine perceptions of equal opportunity, leading youths to blame the government, private industry, and the economy for their condition, which ultimately increased their participation in crime (Baron and Hartnagel, 1997: 425). The combination of these conditions and perceptions leave youths believing that economic success is more likely through accessing the illegitimate labour market of property and drug crime. It is these very conditions and perceptions that "lead youths to strike out violently in a display of resentment, bitterness, and frustration" (Baron and Hartnagel, 1997: 425). This is precisely what was previously discussed in the section on strain theories of violence: strain creates pressures and incentives to engage in criminal coping as a response to stressful life experiences.

Borrowing from the perspective of Robert Agnew's (1992) revised general strain theory (GST), perceptions of injustice can be viewed as stressors that can lead to delinquency as a coping mechanism. GST is one of the leading theories on crime and delinquency, and it essentially argues that strain or negative treatment by others leads to negative emotions, particularly anger and frustration, which necessitate coping strategies. Delinquency is one possible response to the pressure created by these negative emotions (Agnew, 2002). GST identifies three main sources of strain: 1) situations that block positively valued goals (e.g., money, status, autonomy); 2) situations that remove positively valued stimuli (e.g., loss of spouse, theft of valued possessions); and 3) situations that produce negative stimuli (e.g., verbal or physical abuse). In response to strain, some individuals feel negative emotions (e.g., anger) and act out their aggression on people, while others engage in delinquent behaviours such as drug use, and property crime (Agnew, 2004).

Agnew suggests that there are factors that condition the effect of strain on crime (e.g., self-esteem, social support, positive relationships with adults, and attachment to school), which can reduce the negative outcomes of strain, and help explain why only some youth become delinquent (Agnew, 2004; Morash and Moon, 2007). GST attempts to specify some of the factors that influence whether individuals cope with strain in a criminal manner, and claims that when individuals have a low tolerance for strain, poor coping skills, and few conventional supports, and are disposed to crime because of personality traits conducive to crime, they are more likely to cope with strain through crime. Indeed research by Agnew et al. (2002) found that individuals with negative emotionality and low constraints were more likely to respond to strain with criminal behaviour. Recent work on GST suggests that there are some strains that are more likely to result in crime. They share the following characteristics: 1) they are seen as unjust, 2) they are high in magnitude, 3) they are associated with low social control, and 4) they create pressure to engage in criminal coping (Agnew, 2001). Agnew actually identifies experiences with prejudice and discrimination, based on ascribed characteristics like race/ethnicity, as one of several strains with these characteristics that increase the probability of crime (Agnew, 2004: 39).

Studies of GST consistently show that strain is associated with criminal behaviour. For example, a study by Vowell and May (2000) examined the connection of several theoretical factors that ultimately lead to violent behaviour, and tested whether race conditions the link between perceptions of blocked opportunity and violence. Using survey data from 7,012 European and African-American high-school students, the study found, contrary to expectations, that poverty status only increased perceptions of blocked opportunity among European-Americans. It was suggested that the effect of poverty on perceived blocked opportunity may be mediated by some social mechanism among African-American youth. The study also showed that perceived blocked opportunity significantly predicted gang membership and violent behaviour for both racial groups, though the effect was stronger among European-American youth, which demonstrated that race conditions the link between perceptions of blocked opportunity and violence.

Most frequently, GST research shows that there is a clear relationship between strain, anger, and violence, in which strain seems to predict anger, which in turn predicts deviance. More specifically, anger is positively linked to violence (Agnew, 2004; Baron, 2004). For example, Mazerolle, Burton, Cullen, Evans, and Payne (2000) examined whether strain has direct or indirect effects, through the mediating effects of anger, on three types of delinquency (violence, drug use, and school-related deviance). Data were obtained from a questionnaire completed in 1991 by students in grades 10 through 12 at a high school in a suburban (middle-class and upper-class) metropolitan area of the US Midwest. The study found that strain had direct independent effects on violence, even after controlling for other influences, but not on illicit drug use or school-related deviance. The study revealed that violence is related to exposure to strain, deviant affiliations, and being male. The criminogenic effects of strain on drug use were conditional on weak social bonds and exposure to deviant affiliations. Although (contrary to GST) results showed that anger failed to mediate the effects of strain on delinquent outcomes, the models predicting violence revealed that the effects of anger operate through strain. These findings are consistent with the view that youths with high levels of anger disproportionately experience and/or perceive strain in circumstances or events, which can lead to violence.

Furthermore, Sigfusdottir, Farkas and Silver (2004) explored whether depressed mood and anger mediate the effects of family conflict on delinquency. The study used data from a national survey of Icelandic adolescents ages 14–16 in the compulsory grades 9 and 10 of the Icelandic secondary school system. The results showed that exposure to arguments and fights at home are positively related to both depressed mood and anger among adolescents. Consistent with general strain theory, family conflict increased the likelihood of delinquency. Findings also indicated that anger was positively associated with delinquent behaviour, but depressed mood had no effect on delinquency. The study found that the effects of strain on delinquency were different among boys and girls, with family conflict showing stronger effects on delinquency among boys. The study suggested that while girls and boys experience anger in reaction to stress, the fact that girls experience higher levels of depressed mood may explain why they are less likely to become delinquent.

Drawing on previous theoretical traditions, research shows that when people perceive that life is unjust and that causes beyond their control are inhibiting them, they may be more inclined to break the law. Neutralization theory illustrates how perceptions of injustice can be used to rationalize criminal behaviour and encourage violence, and compliance and defiance theories provide a framework for understanding how perceived injustices in the application of laws and sanctions can lead to delinquency. In addition, strain theory articulates the process through which perceptions of injustice can produce negative emotions that result in delinquency as a coping strategy for feelings of strain. Taken together, the synthesis of these theories suggests that there is a relationship between perceptions of injustice and criminal behaviour, which proposed a new approach to understanding crime through a theory of perceptual injustice.

Perceptions of Injustice and Violence

There is rising concern that perceived injustice causes criminal behaviour (Hagan, Shedd and Payne, 2005). However, to date, few studies exist that investigate the relationship between perceptions of injustice and crime. An effort was made over a decade ago, when

Taylor et al. (1994) conducted a study that explored the relationship between racial mistrust and dispositions to deviance among a sample of adolescent boys in Miami, Florida, with a focus on the African-American, Haitian, and Caribbean island black boys. The study suggested that racial mistrust might encourage dissatisfaction with the law and a disposition to deviance counter to law-abiding expectations, the threat being that some adolescents may retreat from essential activities and act on their distrustful feelings by engaging in behaviours that deviate from the norm. The study found no significant differences in dispositions to deviance among the three ethnic groups. However, when compared with non-Blacks, African-Americans and Haitians were more willing to violate the law. The study also showed a strong relationship between racial mistrust and disposition to deviance for all three ethnic groups. However, in this study, mistrust was only measured among the black youth, and only involved distrust toward white people in general and teachers in particular, and there was no measure of actual deviant outcomes. As such, this study did not fully explore perceptions of injustice and crime.

Nevertheless, there is a more recent study by McCord and Ensminger (2002), which investigated the link between discrimination and crime. Although this study found that self-reports of discrimination were related to arrests for violent crime, it was criticized for using a dichotomous measure of discrimination, which did not allow for any analysis of the extent to which the risk of crime becomes greater with increased exposure to discrimination. In addition, the study failed to control for factors such as prior involvement in crime or affiliation with deviant peers, which are necessary to establish whether it is strain (discrimination that causes delinquency) or labelling processes (deviant reputation that leads to discrimination) that accounts for the correlation between discrimination and crime.

Correcting several of these problems, Simons, Chen, Stewart and Brody (2003) provide the most recent related study. Their study examines the relationship between exposure to racial-ethnic discrimination and delinquent behaviour, and the emotional and cognitive factors that mediate the association. The study uses two waves of data collected in Georgia and Iowa, one in 1997 and the other in 1999, from self-report questionnaires and interviews of 718 African-American children aged 10 to 12 (at Wave I) and their caregivers. After controlling for quality of parenting, affiliation with deviant peers and prior conduct problems, the study found that discrimination predicted delinquent behaviour. Using structural equation modelling, the study showed that, for boys, the association between discrimination and delinquency is mediated by feelings of anger and depression and by the belief that aggression is a necessary interpersonal strategy. Anger and depression was also found to mediate part of the effect of discrimination on delinquency for girls, but discrimination continued to show a small but significant direct effect. These findings extend strain theory by including depression as a significant negative emotion and by viewing racial discrimination as a stressor, and signify the importance of including racial discrimination in explanations of delinquency, particularly among African-Americans. The study suggested that further investigations of the link between discrimination and delinquency should focus on racial socialization practices within African-American families and peer groups to better understand what black children are taught about white people, how to address discrimination, and the probability that black children will be successful in a racist society (Simons et al., 2003).

The research thus far has clearly shown that there are racial differences in perceptions of injustice, but the impact of this reality on crime is only now being investigated. While current research seems to focus on the perceptions of blacks in relation to their offending, it is important to note that, theoretically, perceptions of injustice have the potential to explain differences in offending among offenders of all racial backgrounds. If investigations into perceptions of injustice and criminal behaviour lead us to a better understanding of racial patterns of offending, future research will have to ask what can be done about changing these perceptions, and then outline the steps for that to be achieved. In this regard, it seems that criminal and social injustice, real or perceived, has major implications for our society. What little research exists suggests that perceptions of injustice appear to be positively related to crime and delinquency, but it is obvious that much more research is needed before conclusive findings will be reached and effective policies can be created and implemented to change people's perceptions and reduce criminal behaviour.

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Chapter 12:

Social Control and Self-Control Theories[11]

Social Control Theory

Social control theory gained prominence during the 1960s as sociologists sought differing conceptions of crime. It was during this period that Travis Hirschi put forth his innovative rendering of control theory, a theory built upon existing concepts of social control. Hirschi's social control theory asserts that ties to family, school and other aspects of society serve to diminish one's propensity for deviant behaviour. As such, social control theory posits that crime occurs when such bonds are weakened or are not well established. Control theorists argue that without such bonds, crime is an inevitable outcome (Lilly et al., 1995). Unlike other theories that seek to explain why people engage in deviant behaviour, control theories take the opposite approach, questioning why people refrain from offending (Akers and Sellars, 2004). As a result, criminality is seen as a possibility for all individuals within society, avoided only by those who seek to maintain familial and social bonds. According to Hirschi, these bonds are based on *attachment* to those both within and outside of the family, including friends, teachers, and co-workers; *commitment* to activities in which an individual has invested time and energy, such as educational or career goals; *involvement* in activities that serve to both further bond an individual to others and leave limited time to become involved in deviant activities; and finally, *belief* in wider social values. These four aspects of social control are thought to interact to insulate an individual from criminal involvement (Siegel and McCormick, 2006).

Those seeking to test the strength of this theory as it specifically relates to young people have closely examined bonds with family, schools, community, and religion to determine the extent to which such bonds impact offending. The following discusses a selection of the literature on social control theory as it pertains to youth delinquency and offending.

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[11] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Natasha Madon, PhD candidate, at the Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Parental Attachment

Social control theory is situated amongst other sociological theories that focus on the role of social and familial bonds as constraints on offending. It is proposed that for young people, a key aspect of social control is found within the family, particularly through interactions with and feelings towards parents. Of the studies that have examined the impact of social control on delinquency, a large proportion has found a negative relationship between parental attachment and delinquency. As such, it has been found that the greater the attachment to parents, the lower the likelihood of involvement in delinquent behaviour. It should be noted that out of all of the studies reviewed for this report, only one found that parental attachment had no effect on delinquency (Brannigan et al., 2002).

In their study on the effects of adolescent male aggression during early adolescence on later violent offending, Brendgen et al. (2001) examined the role that parents play in juvenile aggression. More specifically, the authors were keenly interested in examining how parental monitoring impacted aggression leading to later violent offending. The sample of 516 Caucasian males from Montreal was assessed by their teachers with respect to aggressive behaviour. Self-report data were also collected from respondents approximately three and four years later, at the ages of 16 and 17, regarding the perpetration of physically violent offending. The extent of parental supervision and caregiving exhibited were also monitored at various junctures during this study period. Brendgen et al. (2001) found proactive aggression, aggression exhibited without the presence of provocation, to be an early predictor of later delinquent violent offending. In contrast, adolescent partner violence was associated with reactive aggression, or aggression categorized as defensive behaviour in response to perceived aggression. The authors further found that adolescent males who experienced less monitoring by parents were more likely to demonstrate proactive aggression and violence later on in adolescence. The authors conclude by suggesting that early intervention, in the form of differing parenting strategies, could indeed lead to the prevention of later adolescent violent offending. The findings of this study support the notion that parenting practices and parental support can impact violent offending by youth.

Attachment is a central component of social control theory, particularly as it relates to parental attachment. Research has found evidence that parental attachment can impact young people's involvement in criminal activities. Amongst these studies was a research study conducted by Henrich et al. (2005) on the effect of parental and school connectedness on adolescent violence. The authors were particularly interested in how such attachments impacted young people's violent offending with weapons. Henrich et al. (2005) obtained survey data on 7,033 young people from a national sample of 132 American middle schools, gathered through the National Longitudinal study of Adolescent Health. The authors found that young people who reported feeling a stronger connection with their parents were less likely to commit violent offences with a weapon (Henrich et al., 2005). Similarly, Herrenkohl et al. (2003) found that young people who exhibited less violent behaviour were more likely to hold stronger attachments to their parents. Chapple and Hope (2003) further found that parental attachment lowered the likelihood of intimate violence in their sample of 1,139 students. The findings of these studies support Hirschi's conception of the role that parental attachments can play in insulating young people from criminal activity.

Parental controls were further found to lower delinquency among a sample of 980 Arkansas youth. Chapple's (2003) 1997 study examined the connection between violent parents, parental bonds, and intimate violent offending. The research findings suggest that young people who had observed violence between parents held lower levels of parental attachment and were more likely to offend violently against an intimate partner. Further, lower levels of parental monitoring were also related to adolescent partner violence. Chapple (2003) concludes that the findings are consistent with the claim made by control theory that parental attachment and bonding reduce the likelihood of delinquency.

In contrast, research has refuted the notion that parental monitoring can impact youth aggression. In their study on the effect of family structure and parenting on childhood misconduct and aggression, Brannigan et al. (2002) found that positive parental contact and parental support were not found to affect childhood misconduct. Similar results were found regarding predictors of aggression, with parenting consistency not found to be a significant predictor of aggression. Such findings refute the notion that parental support necessarily impacts youth aggression.

School Attachment

In conjunction with parental attachment, adolescent attachment to school is seen by Hirschi's social control theory as a fundamental means of establishing social control. A significant number of studies pertaining to social control theory include measures of the role of school attachment and school support in the lives of young people. A Canadian study of 1,311 young people from across the country found evidence demonstrating the impact of school attachment on delinquency. Sprott (2004) examined the effects of school support during childhood on later adolescent violent and non-violent offending. Data were collected from study participants on three separate occasions: in 1994/1995 when the participants were approximately 10 and 11 years of age; at the ages of 12 and 13 in 1996/1997; and then again at ages 14 and 15 in 1998/1999. Over all, Sprott (2004) found that young people who behaved violently often came from classrooms that provided little emotional support to the students. Students who were in classrooms characterized as having stronger supportive and social interactions at the ages of 10 and 11 were less likely to behave violently at the ages of 12 and 13. In addition, it was found that young people who displayed more aggression during the first data capture period were more likely to have been violent during the second data capture period. Sprott (2004) speculates whether school support plays a significant role in deterring future violent offending resulting from inadequate bonding in other aspects of the child's life. As such, young people may then desist from violent behaviour in order to ensure the ongoing support that they are receiving from the school. Sprott et al. (2005) found further evidence to support these findings through their study on 1,956 Canadian youth. The authors found that strong attachment to school was associated with less violent offending. As a result, they conclude that the important effect of school attachment in the lives of young people should not be minimized.

The impact of school attachment on violent offending was similarly found by Brookmeyer et al. (2006) in their US-based study on characteristics of violent behaviour. Data on 6,397 youth from a national sample of 125 American schools were gathered through the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. The data, which consisted of both self-administered surveys of youth and interviews with parents, were collected on two occasions, in 1995 and again in 1996. Brookmeyer et al. (2006) found that those young people who had committed increasingly more violent offences in the second survey were more likely than other young people to express feeling less connection with their school. Further, a positive relationship was found between feeling connected to parents and feeling connected to school. The findings highlight the potential role that parents and schools can play in preventing violent offending amongst young people. Similar conclusions were found by Resnick et al. (2004) and Banyard and Quartey (2006) in their studies on adolescent violent offending risk factors. These authors similarly found that school attachment, amongst other social control factors, protected young people from violent behaviour.

Moreover, the significance of school attachment and adolescent delinquency was also stressed by Herrenkohl et al. (2003) in their study on the effects of both protective and risk factors on adolescent violence. Longitudinal data were obtained from the Seattle Social Development Project, which collected teacher-completed assessments of the sample (N=808) at various intervals during childhood. When youth were assessed at the age of 18, the authors found that those who had been assessed as exhibiting less violent behaviour during childhood were more likely to have stronger connections with parents, more likely to be religious, and more likely to have formed an attachment to school during mid-adolescence. The authors found that adolescents who had been assessed by teachers as aggressive during childhood (and thus, for whom violence had been predicted) were less likely to indeed be violent at age 18 if they had experienced the interaction of various social protective factors such as family involvement, religiosity, and peer interactions. The authors conclude that, as previous research has found, adolescent attachment to school appears to serve a protective function against later adolescent violence.

Role of the Community

The role of the community and neighbourhood as agents of social control has also been assessed in the social control literature. In their New England study on adolescent partner abuse, Banyard and Quartey (2006) surveyed 980 young people in grades seven through twelve on various aspects of risk-taking behaviour. Specifically, self-report data were collected on adolescent partner abuse, victimization, family background, and neighbourhood monitoring and support. The authors found that young people who admitted to physical and/or sexual partner offending had lower perceptions of neighbourhood monitoring than young people who did not report such partner abuse. Diminished feelings of social responsibility were also found to be related to delinquency amongst study participants. The role of communities in fostering values and normative beliefs on violence has been examined by other researchers, including Bernburg and Thorlindsson (2005). Utilizing national survey data on 2,941 Icelandic adolescents, Berburg and Thorlindsson (2005) sought to assess the effects of internal and external values and perceived norms on aggressive behaviour. The authors found a significant relationship between the neutralization of aggression within community norms and aggressive behaviour amongst both male and female respondents. Additionally, amongst male respondents, community conduct norms were found to be a stronger predictor of aggression than the effect of conduct norms and peers. Findings such as these support the notion that community groups that adhere to violent norms will likely affect the aggressive nature of individual members.

Religiosity

While not as widely studied as other facets of social control, the impact of religiosity on delinquency has been assessed by those seeking to understand this aspect of social control. Johnson et al. (2001) examine the debate on the effects of religiosity on youth delinquency, questioning whether young people who are more religious are less delinquent. The authors further sought to determine, if that was found to be the case, why religious adolescents did not engage in deviant behaviour to the same extent as their non-religious counterparts did. Data were obtained from the National Youth Survey, a national longitudinal study on American youth. Johnson et al. (2001) examined factors associated with social control theory related to bonding, including parental attachment, school attachment and religious beliefs. Religiosity was based on the extent to which individuals ascribed to the beliefs of a particular religion and were dedicated to attending services of that church on a regular basis. The authors found that religiosity had a negative effect on delinquency, which included a measure of violence. They argue that religion decreases delinquency due to the effect religion has on shaping beliefs. Further, it is suggested that religious youth may be less inclined to associate with delinquent peers. Research conducted by Benda and Turney (2002), Herrenkohl et al. (2003) and Resnick et al. (2004) further supports the notion that religiosity lowers the likelihood of delinquency among young people. However, it should be noted that such findings are not entirely conclusive, as other research has found otherwise. MacDonald et al. (2005), in a US study on the effects of life satisfaction and risky behaviours on various forms of youth violence, found no support for the notion that religious involvement lowered the likelihood of violent behaviour. The authors had initially hypothesized that young people who were found to be more religious would be less likely, compared with young people who did not have a strong religious affiliation, to participate in delinquent acts. While perceived as an insulating factor, this was not found to be the case. The effect of religion on delinquency was further questioned by Benda and Corwyn (2002), who found increased religiosity to be a strong predictor of violence among adolescents. At best, the extant literature on this aspect of social control demonstrates mixed findings on the role of religion as a mechanism of social control against delinquency.

Critique

Despite research that supports the tenets of social control theory, some scholars have questioned the strength of the theory. As Gibbons (1994) notes, some have questioned whether the notions of self-control as proposed by Hirschi can be used to explain more serious offending behaviour. Critics of the theory contend that the theory may be better able to explain minor offending, but does not necessarily adequately account for more serious crime (Gibbons, 1994).

Policy Implications

Research examining the impact of various aspects of social control theory can shed some light on potential areas of policy development. As discussed, social control theory asserts that the role of the parent is paramount to the bonding of young people to the family. This bond is seen as fundamental to diminishing a child's propensity for delinquent involvement. As research in this area has largely found a strong relationship between parental attachment and lower levels of delinquency, providing support to parents in the form of parenting skills training could be an effective step toward addressing youth crime by building strong bonds between parents and children. Beyond the family, schools play a prominent role in the socialization of young people and could also play a key role as an insulating factor against crime. The school can provide support to young people that they may not be receiving elsewhere. In light of this, Sprott et al. (2005) advised that, as school bonds have been found to play such a significant role in reducing violent offending, it seems antithetical for schools to implement "zero tolerance" policies, which only serve to further exclude and isolate young people who have acted violently and sever their ties to the school. Alternatively, young people deemed to be at risk or delinquent should receive greater support from the school, not less. The authors suggest that policies promoting school cohesion and bonding young people to their schools should be favoured.

Self-Control Theory

The general theory of crime, also known as self-control theory, emerged through the evolution of social control theory. Just as Hirschi had built upon previous control theories with his introduction of social control theory, Gottfredson and Hirschi further developed their conception of the causes of crime and encapsulated it within a new theory: the general theory of crime. While control theory emphasizes the importance of social bonds as an insulating factor against criminal involvement, the general theory of crime posits that low self-control is a key factor underlying criminality. This newer control theory is often referred to as self-control theory due to its focus on this aspect. Gottfredson and Hirschi integrated aspects of other theories to form the general theory of crime, borrowing notions from routine activities theory, rational choice theory, and other psychological and biologically based social theories of crime. The two theories differ in what is believed to be the fundamental propensity towards crime; however, both theories are centred around aspects developed in childhood through effective parenting (Siegel and McCormick, 2006). Although focused on internalized control rather than social control, the general theory of crime shares commonalities with the former theory through its emphasis on the role of parenting in instilling self-control during childhood.

Like other control theories, the general theory of crime places significant weight on this early developmental process as setting the stage for later life.

Gottfredson and Hirschi shifted their focus away from an emphasis on the role of social control as protecting people from participating in criminal activities towards the conception that self-control, or lack thereof, could be used to explain criminal behaviour. For Gottfredson and Hisrchi, crime is thought to occur through the following process: "(1) an impulsive personality to (2) lack of self-control to (3) the withering of social bonds to (4) the opportunity to commit crime and delinquency to (5) deviant behaviour" (Siegel and McCormick, 2006: 286). According to the general theory of crime, crime is seen as a means of obtaining immediate gratification, and the ability to delay such short-term desires is linked to self-control. As such, those with a propensity for criminal involvement are thought to lack sufficient self-control. This lack of self-control is traced back to childhood where, the theorists suggest, the initial indications of deviant behaviour emerge. For those with limited self-control, participation in deviant behaviour only continues throughout the life course (Lilly et al., 1995). As such, while it is believed that self-control is obtained during early childhood and does not necessarily change with time, the theory does propose that rates of offending decline with age, even for those who have lower levels of self-control. According to this theoretical perspective, "people don't change, it is opportunity that changes" (Siegel and McCormick, 2006: 286).

As the general theory of crime focuses exclusively on the role that self-control plays in criminality, research has also focused on the relationship between self-control and a propensity for criminal behaviour. Other factors believed to be related to self-control have also been assessed within the extant research, including measures of risk-taking behaviour. A selection of the existing research that has tested this theory is reviewed below.

Research on the general theory of crime has largely focused on the effect of low self-control on offending. Baron's (2003) study of street youth living in downtown Vancouver focused specifically on this aspect. The author conducted 400 interviews with street youth on various types of offending, including property crime, drug use and violent crime. Baron (2003) found a relationship between low self-control and violent behaviour, with low self-control being the most powerful predictor of violent offending. Despite these findings, the author notes that the findings are not necessarily supportive of the assertion that low self-control is a strong predictor of *all* criminal behaviour, suggesting instead that the theory can be used to explain certain types of offending. Similar conclusions were reached by Piquero et al. (2005). The authors examined the relationship between low self-control and violent offending and homicide victimization. They found a relationship between low self-control and both violent offending and homicide victimization. However, self-control was not found to be the only contributing variable. Race, age at the time of first offence, and criminal history also played a role. As a result, they argue that while self-control does appear to be a contributing factor in violent offending, the general theory of crime does not take into account other social and cultural factors that could also account for a propensity for violent offences. Research conducted by Unnever et al. (2006) further supports these claims.

Other research has sought to assess the strength of the general application of self-control to various offence categories. In their 1997 study, Chapple and Hope (2003) examined gang and intimate violence in relation to self-control. Self-report data were collected from 1,139 grade 9 to 11 students from two school districts in a city in the southern United States. The authors specifically focused on measures of parental attachment, self-control and opportunity for delinquency. Chapple and Hope (2003) found that lower levels of self-control were related to gang violence. They further found that young people who were reportedly involved in gang activity were four times more likely to have also been involved in dating violence offending. The authors of the present study conclude that such findings are indicative of commonalities among these two different groups of offenders. They further argue that the effect of self-control on the two types of offending discussed supports the benefit of a general theory of crime.

Additional research has examined self-control through participation in specific risk-taking behaviours. In their study on the effects of life satisfaction and risky behaviours on various forms of youth violence, MacDonald et al. (2005) examined survey data collected from 5,545 high school students from South Carolina. Legal behaviours such as smoking, alcohol and drug use, and sexual behaviour, thought to be risk-taking, were included under the measure of risky behaviour. The authors found support for self-control theory in that respondents who participated in risky behaviours were more likely to have been involved in violent behaviour.

Critique

Taken together, a large proportion of the studies conducted on self-control and delinquency have found a significant relationship between delinquency and lower levels of self-control. However, it should be noted that not all of these authors have interpreted these findings as indicative of the strength of the theory in predicting all crimes with a general theory of offending. The general nature of Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory has proven to be seen as both novel and controversial. The theory is said to apply to various criminal acts, as it is suggested that low self-control contributes to the commission of offences ranging from burglary to murder (Siegel and McCormick, 2006). As discussed above, some have questioned the extent to which this conception of crime based exclusively on levels of self-control can be used to explain all offending. Further, critics of the general theory of crime have found the reliance on self-control as the underlying explanation of crime problematic. "It is doubtful that criminal and analogous (or deviant) behaviours will be correlated strongly among all offenders, including, for example, white-collar criminals who have evidenced delayed gratification in acquiring high-status occupational positions" (Lilly et al., 1995: 104). While many agree that this theory may hold true for some types of offending, how the theory explains other types of deviant behaviour is unclear to some.

Other scholars have been critical of the general theory of crime's circular argument regarding the relationship between low self-control and crime (Siegel and McCormick, 2006). Gottfredson and Hirschi's central argument is that crime is committed by those who lack adequate self-control. From a research standpoint, some have questioned how this conception of low self-control can be tested empirically, separating self-control from a proclivity for criminality. As Akers and Sellers (2004) suggest, the general theory of crime seems to suggest that "[p]ropensity toward crime and low self-control appear to be one and the same" (Akers and Sellars, 2004: 125). As such, the theory suggests that low self-control and criminality are always linked. However, critics of the theory are not as confident in the strength of the causal relationship between self-control and crime. Siegel and McCormick (2006) suggest that while self control may indeed contribute to criminality, it may not be the only factor. They propose that other factors could impact criminality, whether they be related or unrelated to self-control (Siegel and McCormick, 2006).

Finally, the assertion made within the general theory of crime that low self-control is stable across the life course presupposes that people's propensities for crime also remain stable. This notion has been highly contentious for those who disagree with the idea that essentially nothing can be done to change the life trajectories of those who lack self-control (Siegel and McCormick, 2006). The resulting policy implications of such an assertion are further surrounded by controversy.

Policy Implications

Due to the great emphasis placed on the role of self-control, or lack thereof, in causing criminal behaviour, social programs aimed at intervening in the lives of young people at an early stage of development are stressed. These have included initiatives aimed at enhancing parenting skills in order to help parents instill self-control within young children. Such policies have been fuelled by the notion that, beyond early intervention, little can be done to later curb criminality (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). As such, these types of social policies can be seen as serving a crime prevention function, rather than as a reactionary means of addressing crime within society. Programs directed at influencing parenting practices would be chosen over those aimed at the rehabilitation of the offender, which are seen as a futile approach to addressing crime (Akers and Sellars, 2004). As a result of such an assertion, policies that have stemmed from the general theory of crime have been surrounded by controversy. As the theory asserts that rehabilitation is not an effective mechanism by which to address criminality, the theory has been used in the United States to support the implementation of policies focused on the prolonged incarceration of offenders. This increasingly punitive approach to crime has been questioned by those who disagree with the notion that offenders cannot change and therefore should be incapacitated to avoid future criminality. Finally, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) suggest that "[e]ffective policy must deal with the attractiveness of criminal events to potential offenders" (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990: 274). While a secondary aspect of the general theory of crime and a potential area for policy development, in actuality, how such policies would look in practice is unclear. It is not surprising, then, that the authors and supporters alike have continued to stress the importance of early interventions in the lives of young people in minimizing the likelihood of future criminality.

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Chapter 13:

Integrated Life Course Theories[12]

Integrated theories of crime represent an attempt to bridge the ideological differences that exist among various older theories of crime by integrating variables from disparate theoretical approaches. An integrated approach recognizes that crime is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon with multiple causes. By integrating a variety of ecological, socialization, psychological, biological, and economic factors into a coherent structure, such theories overcome the shortcomings of older theories that may be criticized on the grounds of reductionism. That is, many older theories of crime argue that one causal variable is predominantly important as a cause of crime. A problem with such an approach is that not all persons exposed to that variable (for example, poverty) commit crime. Integrated theories recognize that multiple social and individual factors interact to result in the eventual behaviour of individuals, and that we must consider the constellation of factors in an individual's life in order to understand his or her behaviour.

Employing an integrated approach within a life course perspective further recognizes that the factors that may have a causal influence on crime rates may change over the life course. As such, factors that may be important in influencing criminal activity or the desistence from criminal activity in youth and young adulthood may differ from those that are important in adulthood. Integrated life course theories challenge the notion that criminality is stable over the life course, and are concerned with the factors that induce the onset of criminal behaviour and the cessation of such behaviour. Additionally, different theories within this tradition argue that the onset of criminal behaviour may occur earlier or later in life, depending on which factors impact on the individual. Similarly, desistance may occur in youth or adulthood. This section of the report will focus on outlining the two major approaches to integrated life course theories of crime: firstly that of multi-factor theories, which include the social development model and Elliott's integrated theory, and secondly, life course theories, which include Farrington's theory of delinquent development, Moffitt's theory of delinquency, interactional theory, and Sampson and Laub's age-graded theory.

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[12] *This section was prepared with the assistance of Randy Seepersad, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Multi-Factor Thoeries

The Social Development Model

Multi-factor theories integrate a range of variables into a cohesive explanation of criminality. The first of these to be discussed is the social development model (Hawkins and Weis, 1985; Catalano and Hawkins, 1996; Hawkins and Catalano, 1987). The social development model developed by Catalano and Hawkins examines delinquency as the result of acquired anti-social and pro-social behaviours brought on by certain risk and protective factors. These factors encompass a wide range of biological, psychological, and social variables considered in previous theory and research. Most notably, the social development model synthesizes control, social learning, and differential association theory, while acknowledging other associated factors not accounted for by these theories, such as position in the social structure, acquired skills, and constitutional (biological) factors. In addition, the theory more adequately accounts for interactional effects between variables not generally acknowledged by previous theories.

The social development model hypothesizes that during the elementary school developmental period, children learn patterns of behaviour, whether pro-social or anti-social, primarily from the socializing units of the family and school, with peers and neighbourhood influences playing an increasing role as children progress through the elementary school years.

According to the social development model, children are socialized through processes involving four constructs: (1) perceived opportunities for involvement in activities and interactions with others, (2) the degree of involvement in activities and interactions, (3) the skills to participate in this involvement and interaction, and (4) the reinforcement they perceive from this involvement and interaction. These constructs are hypothesized to be ordered causally, with more perceived opportunities for involvement leading to more actual involvement, which in turn leads to more rewards and recognition. Skills are also hypothesized to affect the amount of reward and recognition a child receives. When these socializing processes are consistent, a social bond of attachment and commitment develops between the individual and the socializing unit. Once established, the social bond inhibits behaviours inconsistent with the beliefs held and behaviours practised by the socialization unit through establishment of an individual's stake in conforming to the norms, values, and behaviours of the socializing unit to which he or she is bonded. It is hypothesized that the behaviour of the individual will be pro-social or anti-social, depending on the predominant behaviours, norms, and values held by those individuals or institutions to which the individual is bonded.

In sum, the social development model provides an integrative, developmental, and interactive perspective on the nature and causes of delinquency. Whereas theoretical "traditions" have emerged among the various perspectives on delinquency, resulting in opposing camps dedicated solely to a particular framework from which to study, the social development model offers an avenue for integrative exploration.

The usefulness of the social development model has been demonstrated by its ability to explain variations in delinquency, violence and drinking in late adolescence (Ayers et al., 1999; Catalano et al., 1996; Herrenkohl et al., 2001; Huang et al., 2001), as well as problem behaviour among elementary-school-age children (Catalano et al., 1999). It has also been used to guide interventions that have demonstrated effects on positive youth development and preventing problem behaviour (Haggerty et al., 1998; Hawkins et al., 1999; Kosterman et al., 1997).

Elliott's Integrated Theory

The second multi-factor theory that will be examined is Elliott's integrated theory (Elliott, Ageton and Canter, 1979). This theory combines the principles of strain, control and social learning theories into a single theoretical framework. This theory specifies a causal pathway in which strain leads to the weakening of social bonds with conventional others and institutions, leading to greater association with deviant peers and the subsequent learning of anti-social and delinquent values. Specifically, adolescents who live in socially disorganized neighbourhoods or who are improperly socialized have an increased risk of perceiving strain. The perceptions of strain can lead to the weakening of bonds with conventional groups, activities and norms. Such weakened bonds, in conjunction with high levels of strain, lead to the rejection of conventional values and encourage youths to seek out deviant peer groups. Such deviant associations create the environment for the social learning and reinforcement of anti-social values and behaviour. This essentially increases delinquent and criminal behaviour.

Life Course Theories:

Life course theories represent an integrated approach to explaining criminality, and accept that multiple social, personal, economic, and other factors influence crime. Life course theories further argue that in order to understand criminality, one must consider these multiple causal factors over the life course, and that different factors may be more or less important at varying stages within the life course and may serve to initiate, reinforce, or even reduce criminal activity. As people make important transitions in their lives, from childhood to adolescence, from adolescence to adulthood, from unmarried to married, or from unemployed to employed for example, the nature of their social interactions change, and so too does the importance of various causal influences on criminality. As a consequence, levels of criminal activity also change. This section will focus on the following life course theories of criminality: Moffitt's theory of delinquency, Farrington's theory of delinquent development, interactional theory, and Sampson and Laub's age-graded theory.

Moffitt's Theory of Delinquency

Moffitt (1993) proposes that there are two primary hypothetical prototypes that explain delinquent behaviour and the onset of criminality: life-course-persistent offenders, whose anti-social behaviour begins in childhood and continues to worsen thereafter, and adolescence-limited offenders, whose anti-social behaviour begins in adolescence and desists in young adulthood. Life-course-persistent anti-socials are few, persistent, and pathological, whereas adolescent-limited anti-socials are common, relatively temporary, and near normative. This developmental typology hypothesizes that childhood-onset and adolescent-onset conduct problems have different etiologies.

This theory argues that life-course-persistent anti-social behaviour originates early in life, when the difficult behaviour of a high-risk young child is exacerbated by a high-risk environment. According to the theory, the child's risk emerges from inherited or acquired neuropsychological variation, initially manifested in subtle cognitive deficits, difficult temperament, or hyperactivity. The environment's risk comprises factors such as inadequate parenting, disrupted family bonds and poverty. The environmental risk domain expands beyond the family, as the child ages, to include poor relations with people such as peers and teachers, and later, with partners and employers. Over the first two decades of development, transactions between individual and environment gradually construct a disordered personality with hallmark features of physical aggression and anti-social behaviour persisting to mid-life. Moffitt argues that the personality characteristics associated with life-course-persistent anti-social behaviour, such as aggression, may have been more adaptive for males compared with females in the evolutionary environment of humans. As such, more males than females possess such personality characteristics, putting them at greater risk than females of serious criminality.

In contrast, adolescent-limited anti-social behaviour emerges with puberty, when otherwise healthy youths experience dysphoria during the relatively roleless years between their biological maturation and their access to mature privileges and responsibilities, a period called "the maturity gap." While adolescents are in this gap, it is virtually normative for them to find the life-course-persistent anti-socials' delinquent lifestyle appealing, and to mimic it as a way to demonstrate autonomy from parents, win affiliation with peers, and hasten social maturation. However, because their pre-delinquent development was normal and healthy, most young people who become adolescent-limited delinquents are able to desist from crime once they age into real adult roles, turning gradually to a more conventional lifestyle. This recovery may be delayed if the adolescent-limited delinquent encounter "snares," such as a criminal record, incarceration, addiction, truncated education, or other such factors that may hinder the transition to a conventional lifestyle.

In summary, Moffitt argues that there are two distinct developmental pathways to delinquency: life-course-persistent anti-social development and adolescent-limited anti-social development. Moffitt estimates the prevalence of life-course-persistent anti-socials at five per cent, though they account for a much larger proportion of delinquent acts and criminality. The genesis of this pattern of anti-social behaviour resides in neuropsychological defects, poor parenting, lower IQ, and heritable personality traits such as negative emotionality and impulsivity. This represents pathological behaviour, is lifelong, and may be treatment resistant. In contrast, adolescence-limited delinquency (the majority of adolescents) is non-pathological, and can be attributed to learning (imitation of the life-course-persistents) and to a maturity gap between biological and social age. Moffitt demonstrates how such imitated behaviour is adaptive to the social and historical context of adolescent development. This model additionally accounts for the often-noted decline in anti-social behaviour, in the majority of adolescents, once they attain adulthood. Drawing on evolutionary psychology, this model also accounts for gender disparities in crime.

Farrington's Theory of Delinquent Development

Farrington's theory of delinquent development derived from research conducted as part of a Cambridge study of delinquent development, which followed the offending careers of 411 London boys born in 1953. This study used self-report and interview data, as well as psychological testing, and collected data from the subjects at eight times over a 24-year period, beginning when subjects were eight years old. This study, in agreement with previously developed life course theories, found the existence of chronic offenders, the continuity of offending, and the presence of early onset leading to persistent criminality. Farrington found that the chronic criminal is typically male, and is born into low-income large families, which have parents and siblings with criminal records or prior offending and in which parents are likely to be separated or divorced. It was found that parenting was an important factor predicting future criminality. The future criminal receives poor parental supervision, including the use of harsh or erratic punishment. The signs of later criminal behaviour were manifest as early as age eight, when such persons already exhibited anti-social behaviour, including dishonesty and aggressiveness. At school, such individuals had low educational achievement and were described as restless, troublesome, hyperactive, impulsive, and truant. It was also found that the chronic offender associated with friends who also exhibited anti-social behaviour. The study also found that the typical offender provided the same kind of deprived and disrupted family life for his own children, and thus the social conditions and experiences that produce delinquency are transmitted from one generation to the next.

An important aspect of Farrington's research is that it identified factors that predicted discontinuity from criminal offending. That is, there are individuals who have a background that puts them at risk of criminal behaviour, and yet they manage to either remain non-offenders, or begin a criminal career but successfully desist after a while. Factors that protect at-risk youth from even beginning a criminal career include a shy personality, a non-deviant family, and being highly regarded by the mother. Other factors were found to influence successful desistance from criminality. These include having a relatively good job and being married, except where the person's spouse is also engaged in criminal activity. Residential relocation was also found to influence desistance, since relocation allowed for the severing of ties and associations with co-offenders.

At the theoretical level, Farrington's research contributes a number of ideas to understanding the genesis, maintenance and desistance from criminal behaviour. These are as follows: 1) Childhood factors predict a continuity of adolescent and adult anti-social and criminal behaviour; 2) economic deprivation, poor parenting, an anti-social or criminal family, and personalities marked by impulsivity, hyperactivity, and attention deficit all increase the risk of anti-social behaviour in children; 3) adolescents are motivated to engage in criminogenic behaviour because of the desire for material goods, excitement and status with peers; 4) effective childrearing and consistent discipline, coupled with close parental supervision, reduces the risk of childhood and subsequent delinquent and anti-social behaviour; and 5) in adulthood, having a good job, being married, and residential relocation can encourage desistance from criminality.

Interactional Theory

Interactional theory is another integrated life course theory of criminality, and was developed by Thornberry (1987) and Thornberry and Krohn (2005). There are three fundamental aspects of interactional theory. The first is that the theory takes a life course perspective. By this, the authors mean that they view delinquency involvement as something that unfolds over time; for most people, it has an onset, a duration and, for most offenders, a termination. Explaining this behaviour at various ages requires linking anti-social behaviour patterns to other trajectories in life, such as family, school and work experiences. Interactional theory predicts a mixture of causes that differ depending on one's age and reflect successes or failures in previous developmental stages. Interactional theory asserts that at differing ages, different influences become more important for the person concerned. During childhood and early adolescence, attachment to the family is the single most important determinant of whether a youth will adjust to conventional society and be shielded from delinquency. By mid-adolescence, the family is replaced by the world of friends, school and youth culture. In adulthood, a person's behavioural choices are shaped by his or her place in conventional society and his or her own family. The second premise of the theory is that delinquency and "many of its causes often become involved in mutually reinforcing causal loops as delinquent careers unfold" (Thornberry and Krohn, 2005: 188). In other words, delinquency and its causes interact with each other, often resulting in greater or lesser levels of offending. For instance, ineffective parenting may lead to delinquency involvement, which, in turn, may result in parental responses that further increase the occurrence of delinquent behaviours. The third key premise of the theory is that the multiple causes of delinquency vary in their magnitude across persons due to the presence of "offsetting assets" or protective factors. This concept asserts that as the magnitude of the causal force increases, the person's involvement in crime becomes more likely and increases in severity.

In addition to the three main premises, interactional theory includes other assertions and hypotheses. For instance, early involvement in anti-social behaviour is the result of what is described as "the intense coupling of structural, individual, and parental influences, that is, when the causal force associated with childhood antisocial behavior is near a maximum" (Thornberry and Krohn, 2005: 190). Additionally, the theory asserts that childhood onset of delinquency is strongly associated with growing up in families and neighbourhoods characterized by poverty and disorganization. Reminiscent of Moffitt (1993) discussed earlier, the theory also asserts that age-appropriate or normative onset of offending appears to be a reflection of increased peer influences, decreased parental supervision, and associations with peers who want to demonstrate rebellion against adult authority. Finally, "late starters," defined as those who begin frequent offending at ages beyond the modal onset years of adolescence, are hypothesized to have lower intelligence and academic competence, but they were not affected by these traits earlier because they had a supportive family and school environment.

Sampson and Laub's Age-Graded Theory of Informal Social Control

Sampson and Laub's age-graded theory of informal social control is the final integrated life course theory that will be examined in this section of the report (Sampson and Laub, 1992, 1993, 1997; Laub and Sampson, 1993). Sampson and Laub assume that crime and other forms of deviance result, in part, from weak or broken bonds to society. In this way, attention is given to the influence of informal social controls on involvement in delinquent behaviour, much as it is in traditional social control theory. Rooted in the life course developmental perspective, Sampson and Laub's theory reminds us that the relevant institutions of informal social control vary by age. For example, during adolescence, social bonds to family, peers and the school are important.

A key notion drawn from developmental theory is that of cumulative continuity of disadvantage, which describes a process whereby the negative consequences of problem behaviour constrain future opportunities for healthy development and contribute to the stability of anti-social behaviour over time. According to age-graded informal social control theory, the cumulative continuity of disadvantage can serve to attenuate conventional bonds to society. Sampson and Laub argue that the onset of a criminal career occurs early in life, but assert that even with an established criminal career, delinquency and criminal behaviour can be interrupted during the life course. They refer to the points of interruption or the cessation of criminogenic behaviour as turning points. Turning points that allow adults to desist from crime include marriage and the development of a career. Marriage and a career are examples of events that, Sampson and Laub argue, create social capital. This represents an investment in conventional values and society and inhibits criminal behaviour.

Sampson and Laub's (1993) theory is not simply traditional social control theory recast in a developmental perspective. The most notable difference between social control theory and age-graded informal social control theory is that the latter acknowledges the role of both state dependence (e.g., social control processes) and population heterogeneity (e.g., self-control) in the continuity of delinquent behaviour. According to Laub and Sampson (1993), "[t]he cumulative continuity of disadvantage is...not only a result of stable individual differences in criminal propensity, but a dynamic process whereby childhood antisocial behavior and adolescent delinquency foster adult crime through the severance of adult social bonds" (306). Thus, these authors described a mixed theory in which the relationship between past and present offending is only partially mediated by informal social control variables. A persistent direct effect of population heterogeneity is also hypothesized by the theory.

Although not intended to be gender-specific in scope, Sampson and Laub's (1993) theory implicitly addresses the role of gender in delinquency and crime over the life course. In stark contrast to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), Sampson and Laub (1993) heavily emphasized social processes (i.e., the attenuation of bonds to conventional society) in the continuity of deviant behaviour. It is here that research on gender differences in elements of the social bond has relevance. Specifically, different social processes may be involved in the crime and delinquency of boys as compared with girls. For example, girls' delinquency may be controlled indirectly through, among other mechanisms, emotional bonds to the family. By contrast, boys' delinquency may be controlled more directly through parental monitoring and supervision. Moreover, attachments to delinquent peers may play an especially important role in the delinquent behaviour of boys.

Policy Implications

Integrated life course theories of criminality offer a number of policy implications. Most of the theories reviewed agree that the signs of stable and persistent criminality occur in early childhood and can be readily identified. These signs involve at-risk personalities (exhibiting aggressiveness, hyperactivity, attention deficit, etc.) and at-risk environments (characterized, for example, by disorganized neighbourhoods, inconsistent and inadequate parenting, etc.) At-risk personalities, by themselves, do not necessarily lead to stable and persistent criminality in adulthood, according to life course theories. Instead, it is the conjunction of at-risk personalities and environments that is necessary for adult criminality. This implies that at-risk youth can be identified early in life, and steps can be taken to manipulate the environment such that environmental risk is reduced and does not exacerbate the effect of an at-risk personality. Indeed, with the right environmental influences, such as consistent parental discipline and supervision, an at-risk personality in childhood will not lead to adult criminality.

Integrated life course theories agree that among the many environmental risk factors that children face, inadequate parenting is one of the most important. Parenting skills are rarely, if ever, addressed via education curricula or other means. Life course theories suggest that training in parenting skills should reduce criminality. Perhaps such training may be carried out in schools, such that as many young adults as possible are educated about the importance of parenting and informed about parenting practices that reduce delinquency and future criminality.

Moffitt's theory, reminiscent of labelling theory, sensitizes us to the fact that the majority of adolescent offenders are adolescent-limited anti-socials who will eventually naturally desist from delinquency on their own. Moffitt argues, however, that once such adolescents engage in delinquent activity, they may encounter "snares" that may actually make their eventual desistance more difficult. Such snares include a criminal record, incarceration, addiction and a truncated education. Legal policies that are sensitive to the possibility of snares can be employed to ensure that youths do not become tracked into a criminal lifestyle because of such snares.

Integrated life course theories, unlike older theories of crime, sensitize us to the fact that multiple factors may result in delinquency and crime, and indicate that the importance of each factor may vary depending on the stage of development of the individual concerned. At a broader level, this sensitizes us to the need for research to become more flexible in the use and integration of varying theoretical models and variables. Modern statistical techniques allow for the modelling of the influence of multiple causal influences over time as causes of delinquency and criminality. Research should strive to understand the interaction and role of different influences on the development process and their relation to criminality. Such understanding will indicate which variables can be manipulated, and during which age ranges, to have a maximal effect on the reduction of delinquency and crime.

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Chapter 14:

Critical Perspectives on Violence[13]

To this point, the research literature that has been presented for readers has approached the issue of violence from more traditional (non-critical) perspectives, which tend to focus largely on those acts that are deemed to be deviant (whether legally, socially, or morally) and/or where the offender is motivated to willfully inflict harm on a person or persons (Turpin and Kurtz, 1997).[14] Mainstream studies have usually adopted a positivistic approach to the problem of crime and violence that places an overwhelming focus on the nature of the individual offender (Stanko, 1995). Biological research into the causes of violence, for instance, inquires into the genetic make-up, chemical or hormone levels, and brain functioning of identified violent males and females (see Fishbein, 1990). Psychological approaches might scrutinize the differential impact of anxieties or aggression fuelled by inconsistent, harsh, or neglectful parenting, loss of parent or significant other(s), or childhood experiences of physical or sexual abuse experienced by identified offenders (see Bernard, 1993). Or, sociological theories may try to estimate the prevalence and incidence of violence and interrogate how the occurrence of violence is affected by the attachment of individuals to a (presumed) civil society (see Sampson and Wilson, 1995). While this literature has certainly deepened our understanding of forms of violence, especially at the interpersonal level, it is largely premised on research that treats violence in a way that suggests the phenomenon is clearly understood within a generic class of behaviours – yet no such concept exists (Jackman, 2002). Critical scholars from a wide range of disciplines, including criminology and sociology, have subsequently begun producing articles/research that seek to extend the parameters of what we have conventionally viewed as violence (Cover, 1986; Epp, 1996; Farmer, 2004; Jackman, 2002; Sarat and Kearns, 1997; Turpin and Kurtz, 1997; Watkinson, 1997).

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[13] *This section of the report was prepared by Terrence Roswell, PhD candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto and Lecturer, Caribbean Studies Program, Ryerson University.*

[14] *Critical race scholars have acknowledged that other acts have been included, but only when public scrutiny is drawn or in other rare instances.*

Known for its opposition to existing social structures that produce systems of inequality, critical criminology/sociology approaches the notion of crime or violence from a *completely different perspective that has, ultimately, contributed to our understanding* about a very complex phenomenon. The work of these scholars has produced a body of rigorous literature attempting to either construct broader working definitions of violence and/or to draw linkages between various forms of "official" or "legitimate" violence and acts of violence at the interpersonal level. This chapter provides a brief look at some of the critical scholarship that has emerged in recent years, from across academic disciplines, which can enhance our understanding of how violence can be analyzed from a macro- and micro-level perspective.

Although critical theorists are firmly grounded in Marxist and other radical schools of thought, the discipline has developed further by adopting elements from other theoretical traditions and ideological frameworks, including conflict theory, interactionism, postmodernism, and contemporary feminism (Wright and Friedrichs, 1998). Often used as an umbrella term to capture a number of different theoretical arguments, such as left realism, radical criminology, critical race theory and peacemaking criminology, critical scholars may articulate arguments in different ways, but are united in that they all place emphasis on the primacy of class relations when discussing the issue of crime and justice. For example, conflict theorists hypothesize that crime stems from differences in economic wealth, a clash of cultures, or from the outcome of symbolic and instrumental struggles over status, ideology, morality, religion, race, and ethnicity. Conflict criminologists, like Sellin (1938) and Quinney (1970), would argue that some groups become dominant by gaining control of key resources and, as a result, these groups are able to criminalize the behaviour of those deviating from their own cultural standards and behavioural norms. Similarly, radical criminologists have argued that crime is an endemic product of the class and patriarchal nature of advanced industrial societies (Young, 1997). Left realists, on the other hand, believe that while conventional crime must be taken seriously, crime generally must be understood in terms of the complex interaction between the state, the offender, the victim, and the general public, or between macro- and micro- level phenomena (DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1996; Young, 1997).

More recent contributions from feminist and critical race scholars have brought other critiques of mainstream theories to the forefront. As Daly and Maher (1998: 2) highlight, feminist theorists have chastized criminologists for failing to consider gender differences or for characterizing women in sexist ways, and have, in turn, produced research documenting the experiences of women as lawbreakers, victims, and workers in the criminal justice system. Lately, scholars and activists in this camp have set out to problematize the term "women" as a unified category, and to acknowledge the fact that women's experiences are, in part, constructed by legal and criminological discourses (ibid; Stanko, 1985). Conversely, critical race theory has provided a growing number of scholars with the opportunity to produce scholarship that has sought to expose the ways in which social, political, and legal practices in North America not only inform how institutions in our societies are governed, but also how, in some scenarios, they contribute significantly to some of the negative outcomes that arise as they pertains to the lives and experiences of racially oppressed peoples in these same spaces (Lynn and Parker, 2006: 261). For example, critical race theorists largely believe that American courts are perpetuating racial subordination by refusing to address the various forms of systemic racism that exists and is hiding behind the slogan of colour-blind justice (Gotanda, 1991; Matsuda et al., 1993).

Critical criminologists tend to share a number of general assumptions, including: (1) that both crime and the criminal law are shaped by the structure of the political economy, with particular emphasis on the importance of class, ethnicity, race, and gender; and (2) that the predominately repressive approach of the state is generally ineffective as a response to the "crime problem," and perpetuates various forms of discrimination and inequitable justice (see Einstadler and Henry, 1995). Considered by many as a humanistic perspective, critical criminology focuses on how inequality and power impact upon and reflect lawmaking, lawbreaking, victimization, reactions to crime, and social harm. In particular, theorists in this camp are concerned with the manner in which structural forces, cultural ideologies, and social processes create, sustain, and exacerbate social problems such as militarism, racism, sexism, poverty, state and corporate violence, criminal injustice, and war (see Lynch and Michalowski, 2006). Finally, critical scholars propose responses to the problem of crime and injustice by advocating for restorative, democratic, and peacemaking approaches rather than crime control models that rely on repression, retribution, and violence. Some of the areas where critical scholars have enhanced our knowledge around the issue of violence have been in advocating for broader, more encompassing definitions; highlighting acts of violence engaged in by powerful elites and/or the state, including the concept of law's violence (Barak, 1991; Sarat, 1999; Sarat and Kearns, 1995); and by exploring whether a relationship exists between the causes of violence at the micro- and macro-level (Coady, 1986; Jackman, 2002; Turpin and Kurtz, 1997).

Scholars such as Barak (2003), Jackman (2002), and Stanley (2007) have often argued that traditional criminology has not fully explored the various manifestations of violence that occur in contemporary societies on a daily basis. For example, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1999) defines violence as the unlawful exercise of physical force. Similarly, Olweus (1993) confines the concept of violence to the mere use of physical force in his work. He defines violent behaviour as aggressive behaviour where the actor or perpetrator uses his or her own body as an object (including a weapon) to inflict (relatively serious) injury or discomfort upon an individual. This is a trend that many social scientists have followed – relying on individualistic conceptions of violence that depend heavily on legal statutes that privilege the problem of random violence at the expense of other manifestations (Brownstein, 2000; Stanko, 2003). In fact, it can be argued that criminologists/sociologists have continuously categorized various types of violence as being either "legitimate" or "illegitimate" in nature, and have subsequently tended to (over) examine incidents like murder, assault, sexual violence, armed robbery, and drug- or gang-related activities (Barak, 2003). So, while extant research has well-documented the acts of criminal violence, most of the theories dominating the social sciences literature have tried to explain this complex phenomenon by focusing on the abnormality of the individual, community or culture (Stanko, 1985). This limited focus on physical acts, critical criminologists suggest, has merely served to impair and stifle our understanding of violence.

The legal system's insistence on incorporating notions of agency into the process has similarly hindered our ability to recognize/denounce those manifestations that fall outside of these rigid stipulations. The law demands that there be not only a visible actor, but also a directly observable, deterministic connection between the behaviour of one and the suffering of others. In other words, legal statutes define acts of criminal violence by specifying the form of injury, threat and harm, thereby placing different violent acts along a continuum that separates seriousness by some "objective" measure of outcome (Barak, 2003; Stanko, 2003). However, these restrictive criteria are occasionally relaxed or altered on an ad hoc basis, leading some critical observers to question whether such judgments are applied without prejudice (see Lynch and Michalowski, 2006). For example, the way in which criminal violations are treated based on mitigating/aggravating factors, or the different categories that exist for homicides, assaults, and acts of sexual violence reflect some of those inconsistencies. Furthermore, as Jackman (2002) notes, a variety of behaviours that meet the specified criteria of physical injury and harmful intent are specifically excluded from traditional or legalistic definitions, including those that are self-inflicted and those inflicted by state authorities in the course of enforcing the law, punishment, or providing collective defence. The subjectivity inherent in "objective" decision-making has, in turn, pushed critical theorists to fundamentally oppose the legitimacy mainstream scholars have unwittingly assigned to legalistic definitions of crime, especially since they are grounded in the belief that the law is premised on the ideological and material interests of political elites at the expense of those not in positions of power (Chambliss and Seidman, 1982; Kauzlarich, 2007; Quinney, 1970).

In the eyes of many critical scholars, attempting to make such rigid distinctions between illegitimate and legitimate force has only served to make the "concept of violence...inherently confused, as is the correlative concept of non-violence" (Wolff, 1971: 55). The emphasis sociologists/criminologists have placed on occurrences with physical injuries, the role of force, and interpersonal violence has come at the expense of other, equally damaging forms of violence such as psychological, social, and material injuries, verbal and written actions, and corporate agents and victims (Barak, 1991; Caldwell et al., 2004; Fanon, 2001; Jackman, 2002; Sarat and Kearns, 1992). Based on this reality, critical scholars have begun injecting broader definitions of violence into the public discourse in an effort to move us beyond analyses where illegitimate force requires both a visible agent and unwilling recipient.

Critical criminological/sociological scholars do not take for granted or limit themselves to state or official definitions of crime or violence. Instead, they set out to explore why various acts of violence are condemned and repudiated when others are denied, praised, or even glorified. They seek to identify those segments of our society that are powerful enough to make such distinctions. By postulating alternative definitions of crime and violence, like the human rights paradigm advanced by Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1970) some three decades ago, we are able to incorporate a host of other acts that cause social injury or suffering or which violate human rights. More recent formulations of what should be considered a crime or act of violence, made by critical theorists, have sought to encapsulate all forms of oppression and harm, including violence committed by corporate and government agents/agencies that typically go ignored (e.g., Barak, 1991; Henry and Lanier, 2001; Jackman, 2002; Kauzlarich et al., 2003; Michalowski, 1985; Tift, 1995). Now, based on these expanded definitions, interpretations of violence can essentially constitute "any actions that inflict, threaten, or cause injury. Actions may be corporal, written or verbal. Injuries may be corporal, psychological, material, or social" (Jackman, 2002: 398).

Based on the quote above, would Farmer's (2004) anthropological argument that suffering should be considered a form of violence qualify? Generic definitions, like Jackman's (2002), encourage academics to not only pursue explanations of violence at the local and global levels, but also to identify its simultaneous manifestations in society's structural, material, cultural, and political spheres (Arriaza, 2003). More significantly, these systematic definitions do not put in place constraints on the motivations of either the victim or the agent, and are "agnostic about whether the behaviour is unusual or commonplace and whether it meets with societal repudiation, disinterest, acceptance, or admiration. It provides a consistent, autonomous basis for identifying the full population of injurious social behaviours, purely on the basis of their indigenous behavioural attributes" (Jackman, 2002: 405).

The flexibility to pursue critical ideas has fostered a number of different conceptual frameworks from which the study of violence can be approached in the future. For example, Stanko's (2003) edited volume, *The Meanings of Violence*, locates the phenomenon within social contexts, identities and social divisions. In this way, the author is able to pursue a range of violent social contexts, allowing her to explore the multiple, contradictory and complex meanings of violence. Gregg Barak (2005, 2003, 1991), a renowned scholar in the field of critical criminology, has proposed a reciprocal theory of violence and non-violence that is guided by the logic found in integrative, pathways, and life course theories. His model argues that both the properties of and pathways to violence or non-violence, across both the spheres of interpersonal, institutional and structural relations and the domains of family, subculture, and culture, are accumulating, reinforcing, and inversely related. From another perspective, Iadicola and Shupe (1998) introduce a Marxist definition of violence that is essentially premised on five primary elements: (1) It is the result of flaws in the system or structure, not in individuals, per se; (2) perpetrators may not have intended their acts to be violent; (3) actions conceived as violent may not be considered illegal; (4) violent actions may cause physical harm, but harm may also be emotional, social, economic, or cultural; and (5) violence affects all involved in the system, but certain groups will likely bear the brunt disproportionately.

Racism as Violence

The language inherent in Jackman's (2002) interpretation of what constitutes an act of violence demonstrates her willingness to explore the ways in which institutional arrangements facilitate or obstruct the various types of violence, or what she defines as the social organization of violence manifested through race, class, and gender relations. Noting that violence should even include "actions that inflict humiliation, stigmatization, material loss, and/or social isolation," Jackman (2002) provides a space where devastating social forces, like racism and social inequality, can even be viewed as a form of structural violence (see also Coady, 1986). Similarly to a position previously articulated by Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1970) in their request that scholars interested in studies on crime and violence go beyond the prerequisite of individual harm to include acts causing social injury and violating basic rights, such as imperialistic wars, racism, sexism, and poverty, public health officials in the US, along with studying problems of interpersonal violence, have recently begun examining the consequences of structural violence such as unequal development and racism (see Prothrow-Stith and Weissman, 1991).

The effects of racism can be psychological, economic, social and physical. Critical race scholars, for example, have highlighted the harms that racialized groups in North America have historically experienced (and continue to experience) because of racist ideologies that exist in those societies (Crenshaw, 2002; Delgado, 1995). Arguing that racism is an endemic part of American society, a vast body of literature has shown how many citizens suffer from discriminatory attitudes and practices, infecting our economic systems, our cultural and political institutions, and the daily interactions of others

(Matsuda et al., 1993). Caldwell et al. (2004), for example, examine the relationship between experiences of racial discrimination, racial identity and violent behaviours. Among their findings, the authors concluded that the experience with racial discrimination was the strongest risk factor for young adult violent behaviour in their sample, which highlights the significance of race relations as a critical social context for understanding violent behaviour as a response to oppression.

Not only would social forces that produce structural inequalities be included in critical articulations of crime and violence, but so too would what legal scholar Robert Cover (1986) has referred to as "violence of the word." A growing body of literature has taken advantage of this wider conceptual net by pursuing research that shows why verbal and written actions can also accomplish the infliction of physical injuries, either by directly initiating them (as edicts or contracts) or by inciting others to acts of physical violence (as in lynch mobs motivated by white supremacist ideologies). For example, historians and political scientists have looked critically at the role language has played in the cultivation and administration of ethno-violence, whether in labour violence, violence in slavery, lynchings of African-Americans, or urban acts of civil violence (Sarat, 1999; Tolnay and Beck, 1995; Watson, 1989; Websdale, 2001). In their book *Words That Wound,* the authors provide empirical evidence describing situations where words have the ability to be "used as weapons to ambush, terrorize, wound, humiliate, and degrade," and thus should represent an assaultive form of speech that has the ability to inflict substantial psychological, social, or material injuries without being as conspicuous or flagrant as physical violence (Matsuda et al., 1993: 1).[15] Although legal codes in North America currently recognize the significance of such actions against individuals by permitting litigation for alleged slander or libel, they do not provide the same protections to groups (as when stereotypes defame group members and diminish the self-esteem, social status, and material prospects for some individuals) (Bobo and Johnson, 2000; Jackman, 1981; Sinclair et al., 2002).

State or Corporate Violence

The area of state or corporate violence is another domain where critical theorists have influenced academic research. Radical or critical criminologists have begun treating deaths that occur in the workplace, corporate acts of violence, and/or government-sanctioned modes of violence within the nexus of activities occurring in our social lives, even though they might not necessarily be viewed or categorized as socially deviant or motivated by willful malice. With new definitions guiding their analyses, critical scholars have identified a range of actions, behaviours, or phenomena that cause harm to individuals and/or groups and that have traditionally gone unnoticed by academics. Many corporate actions with injurious outcomes are rarely, if ever, couched in terms of representing a criminal or violent act. Finley (2006), questioning mainstream views of violence, asks us to consider whether an act of violence has been committed when a business knowingly markets a flawed product, regardless of whether the business actually meant for consumers to be harmed. She goes on to observe that manifestations of systemic violence are often normalized, thus making it much harder to see the harms inherent in such practices. They are also often couched in terminologies that construe such acts as being unintentional or accidental. However, critical theorists are skeptical about the lack of attention corporate and state agents have garnered from academics studying crime or violence, which is simply because perpetrators are usually viewed/treated as relatively faceless entities and the outcomes are probabilistic rather than certain. Watkinson (1997: 4) explains that systemic violence, rather than being intentional, "results from traditional practices within institutions that may appear innocuous." In challenging the common assumption that, because systemic violence does not appear in the same way as forms of interpersonal violence do, it is somehow less problematic, scholars in this camp have been encouraged to demonstrate just how detrimental these acts can be. For example, a number of researchers have documented evidence showing the various ways corporate actors actively resist attempts to rectify the practices that have caused injury in the first place (Barak, 1991). Through this critical lens, forms of collective violence can be examined so that behaviours and actions of corporate and state actors are seen as part of an observable conglomerate where there are plainly observable events with injurious effects on persons and property.

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[15] *For example, these critical race scholars use empirical evidence to highlight the increasing frequency and regularity of incidents of hate speech and racial harassment that are being reported in the United States of America, particularly on American college campuses (Matsuda et al., 1993: 1). For example, the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, in its 1990 report on campus ethnoviolence, found that 65 to 70 per cent of the nation's minority students reported some form of ethno-violent harassment, and the number of college students victimized by ethno-violence is in the range of 800,000 to 1 million annually (ibid).*

Recognizing that many of the decrees, decisions, and activities of government agencies (e.g., the criminal justice system) and institutions (e.g., education) that adversely affect the welfare of individuals or groups are equally germane (see Foucault, 1977; Johnson, 1990), critical theorists regard states, like corporations, as collective offenders. As Barak (1994: 265) iterates, states are the "publicly powerful" and, as such, are "responsible for much of the global crime, injury, harm, violence and injustice." As Sarat and Kearns (1995) maintain, laws and policies themselves can be violent, and a number of studies have begun exploring the harms inherent in everyday practices within social institutions. Critical theorists like Iadicola and Shupe (1998) have engaged in research illustrating how institutional violence is built into the very way our institutions are structured. Educational institutions, for example, are an area of interest for scholars like Epp (1996) and Finley (2006). For Epp (1996: 1), systemic violence in schools encapsulates "any institutional practice or procedure that adversely impacts on individuals or groups by burdening them psychologically, mentally, culturally, spiritually, economically, or physically." Finley's (2006) study, using a similar approach, connects the use of metal detectors, drug tests, and strip searches to the growing literature on systemic violence by arguing that these three types of school searches constitute forms of violence waged against students because they experience both emotional and physical harms.

When Edgar Friedenberg wrote that "the police often slay; but they are seldom socially defined as murders," he highlighted one of the ways violence is incorporated into the administration of justice (see Sarat, 1999:3). The administration of justice has also garnered the attention of critical scholars who have argued that violence is implicit (and explicit) in the law, and that state-sanctioned acts such as police brutality and capital punishment can at once be painful, brutal, and violent, yet are still considered by many to be legal or officially sanctioned behaviour. The concept of "law's violence" has been used by scholars like Sarat and Kearns (1995) to contextualize violence that is inherent in the law and criminal justice policies and procedures. For example, Barak (1991), writing from a radical (Marxist) criminology perspective, identifies the "real" crimes committed by states, including deaths of indigenous peoples in custody in Australia, state terrorism in Peru, and casualties of America's "War on Drugs" campaign.

As Sarat and Kearns note, the association of law and violence is visible in the discrete acts of law's agents – the gun fired by the police, the sentence pronounced by the judge, and the execution carried out behind prison walls. In fact, the authors go as far as suggesting that American jurisprudence has been maintained through the use of force, in that it has served to "distort, disrupt, and reposition pre-existing relations and practices all in the name of an allegedly superior order."

Although many of these actions are governed within some aspects of the law or criminal justice policies, Hay (1992) suggests that those who ignore the violence inherent in the law are ignoring a central facet of the law – its distinctiveness as a discursive practice. Critical race scholars have heeded these warnings, in that they have long argued that a strong relationship exists between racism and state violence (e.g., the death penalty) in the United States. Many have argued that the law symbolizes an official and legitimate form of violence that has oftentimes been used to create or reproduce racial and other social inequalities (see Clarke, 1996). Not only have a number of studies examined the role race plays in the administration of capital punishment, but the US Supreme Court has also been faced with constitutional challenges to the death penalty on the grounds it is administered and applied in a racially discriminatory manner (see McCleskey v. Kemp, 1987). Both sources of inquiry have commented on the disparate impact of capital punishment policies on African-American peoples, from the period of enslavement until now. For example, the US General Accounting Office's evaluation synthesis of 28 empirical studies of death penalty sentences between 1972 and 1988 showed a pattern of racial disparities in charging, sentencing, and the imposition of the death penalty.[16] The Supreme Court was also presented with statistical evidence, in 1987, in what has come to be known as the Baldus study, which purported to show that the race of the murder victim and the race of the defendant led to a disparity in the imposition of the death penalty in Georgia, and that this disproportionately affected blacks as victims and defendants of capital offences.[17] The historical acceptance American courts have expressed towards disproportionately harsh sentences, which are race-based in the areas of the imposition of the death penalty (see McCleskey v. Kemp, 1987; Rice, 1993) and other criminal justice policies, has been of particular concern for critical race scholars in the United States.

The question of whether punishment acts as an effective deterrent to crime has been the subject of debate for decades. Critical scholars focusing on the association of law and violence have suggested that it does not, especially considering that "[l]aw's violence stigmatizes so thoroughly it creates crime; it encourages the growth of criminal subcultures, of outlaws who have no incentive to find their way back in" (Hay, 1992: 160). In examining how state violence can in fact contribute to rates of violence at the interpersonal level, previous literature in this area of academia has generally argued that criminal justice policies merely serve to exacerbate rather than diminish problems that lead to crime in the first place. For example, McFarland's (1983) review of studies on the death penalty in the United States found that longitudinal analyses tended to report reductions and increases in homicide rates in different settings. Short-term analyses, on the other hand, generally show increases in homicide rates in states where the death penalty is used prior to the 1970s. However in the post-Furman period, homicide rates seemed to have remained stable. In another literature review, Bowers (1988) argues that the main effects of executions vary by social setting, and that they impact some people more than others. Scholars have also tried to document the reciprocal effects of "three strikes" policies in the United States. In their study of 188 large US cities between 1980 and 1999, Kovandzic et al. (2002) found that the homicide-promoting effects of three-strikes laws in certain states were significant when homicide rates were compared with those in states not employing such policies. Essentially, cities in states with three-strike laws experienced short-term increases in homicide rates of approximately 14 per cent and long-term increases of

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[16] *In 82 per cent of the studies reviewed, the race of the victim was found to influence the likelihood of being charged with capital murder or receiving the death penalty (US General Accounting Office, 1990).*

[17] *Specifically, the lawyers in the McCleskey case (1987) pointed to two significant findings in the Baldus study. First was what they referred to as "race of the victim discrimination," since murderers of whites were sentenced to death at a significantly higher rate than were murderers of blacks. Secondly, "race of the defendant discrimination" spoke to the fact that black murderers received the death penalty in Georgia at a higher rate than did whites who had committed similar homicides (see Rice, 1993).*

16 to 24 per cent compared with cities in states with no such laws. Marvell and Moody's (2001) study supports the assertion that homicide rates increase following the implementation of three-strike laws. Noting that non-violent offenders facing lengthy prison terms because of their third strike might be more inclined to employ lethal violence as a way of minimizing the possibility of being apprehended, the authors boldly state that most crime control policies designed to decrease crime actually increase homicide, arguably the most serious crime of all.

Violence and globalization is another intersection that critical scholars have explored. In his review of academic literature on human rights violations, Stanley (2007) found that accountability for human rights violations is difficult to establish because the responsibility for violence is transnational in nature, cutting across state, corporate, and institutional boundaries, as well as individual actors. Gillespie's (2006) study focuses on the relationship between globalization and violence in the context of neo-liberal economic policies in Latin America. Finally, Razack (2004) examines peacekeeper violence, evident in Canada's peacekeeping mission to Somalia, by arguing that the "everyday" forms of violence that peacekeepers engage in on a routine basis (e.g., murder, assault, sexual violence) while in foreign countries is firmly rooted in colonialism and its attendant ideologies. Critical theorists have suggested that criminologists, in particular, have the ability to contribute valuable insights to the study of genocide, provided that they do not attempt to frame analyses within traditional mainstream hypotheses (see Brannigan, 1998; Day and Vandiver, 2000; Woolford, 2006; Yacoubian, 2000). In fact, some critical criminologists have done extraordinary work, noting that the deaths caused by genocide in the 20th century have far surpassed deaths caused by street crime, and that this represents perhaps the greatest danger for us to think about in the 21st century (Freidrichs, 2000; Yacoubian, 2001).

Conclusion

Putting official violence alongside what we deem to be lawless violence "threatens to expose state killing as essentially similar to the anti-social violence it is supposed to deter and punish" (Sarat, 2001: 124). Finding ways to bridge the gap between the two can lead to enhanced understandings of how violence at the macro-level serves to influence individual acts of violence at the same time. To use a quote from Hay (1992: 173) to sum up the connection between official, legitimate violence and manifestations of private or interpersonal violence from the broadest possible perspective, "if inequality continues to increase, Law's violence, and the violence it generates, in turn, must continue to increase also." In the end, academics and disciplines that fail to come to terms with the myriad harms of violence are not likely to produce useful and comprehensive knowledge to help us better understand, prevent, and possibly prosecute such acts (Woolford, 2006).

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Conclusion

As documented by the chapters above, the academic literature on the root causes of youth violence is immense. Indeed, in this report, we have only touched upon a few of the many thousands of empirical studies that have attempted to identify the source of – and ultimately the solution to – violent behaviour. It is also clear that academics are not all on the same page. Indeed, heated debates continue between scholars who have adopted different theoretical or methodological approaches to the study of criminal behaviour. Psychologists and biologists, for example, approach the problem of violence from a very different direction than sociologists or anthropologists do. It can thus be very difficult to identify the "truth" when it comes to explaining violent crime – especially when the champions of radically different perspectives can all point to research evidence that apparently supports their claims. Nonetheless, criminologists have recently recognized that there may, in fact, be many different pathways to crime and violence, and that there may thus be elements of truth in all major theoretical perspectives. Most scholars now concede that theories that can successfully integrate elements from different explanations may be the most promising when it comes to identifying the true causes of youth crime.

Although controversy still exists, policy-makers often turn to the major theories of crime causation for ideas with respect to the development of effective crime prevention strategies. Unfortunately, confusion can ensue when they recognize that different theories have radically different – and often contradictory – policy implications. Psychology theories, for example, argue that we should spend our prevention dollars on early childhood development programs and the flexible delivery of mental health services that can meet individual needs. Social disorganization theories, by contrast, argue that governments should focus on social development and macro-level strategies that will improve economic conditions within disadvantaged communities. Similarly, rational choice theories argue that we need to increase the severity, swiftness and certainty of punishment in order to deter crime. By contrast, defiance theory, labelling theory and legitimacy theory all maintain that tough punishment can actually produce more crime and violence within a given society. Finally, social learning theories maintain that violent offenders can be treated or rehabilitated and eventually return to productive, law-abiding lives within the community. Self-control theory, by contrast, maintains that criminality is firmly established by age six, and holds, therefore, that rehabilitation efforts are futile. What theories should we believe? As discussed above, the purpose of this report was to review major theories that attempt to identify the root causes of violent crime. The identification of proven or promising crime prevention strategies, unfortunately, was not a priority of this document. However, the next report in this volume, "Youth Crime Prevention: A Review of the Evaluation Literature" (Wortley et al., 2008), provides a much more extensive discussion of crime prevention programs and strategies. In that companion report, a thorough effort is made to identify both proven and promising policy developments, as well as crime prevention strategies that have been shown to be ineffective.

Preventing Youth Crime and Violence:

A Review of the Literature

A Report Prepared for the Review of the Roots of Youth Violence

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Introduction

Youth crime and violence are pressing issues in Ontario. As a result, government officials, criminal justice professionals, academics and members of the general public are all interested in identifying effective strategies that will help prevent or significantly reduce serious criminal activity. Unfortunately, there is still considerable debate with respect to what strategies are the most effective and thus considerable debate surrounding how governments should be spending taxpayers' money with respect to crime prevention programming. Many politicians, law enforcement experts and individuals from the wider community sincerely believe that the road to crime prevention lies through tougher laws, harsher punishments and increased spending on policing. On the other hand, a growing number of academics, mental health professionals, social workers and community activists feel that youth crime and violence can only be prevented through increased spending on crime prevention and community development programs. Indeed, some scholars, including Irvin Waller from the University of Ottawa, have argued that government resources need to be gradually diverted from law enforcement and corrections efforts into an effective crime prevention strategy (see Waller, 2006). The purpose of this report is to review the research literature that will help use address this debate in an informed manner.

Our review of government records, community reports, and the academic literature uncovered thousands of different programs, strategies, and initiatives that all claim to prevent youth violence. Unfortunately, the vast majority of these programs have not been subject to rigorous, scientific evaluation. Sadly, this is particularly true of programs that have been implemented in Canada. Under such circumstances, it is rather difficult to distinguish between programs "that work" when it comes to reducing violent behaviour, programs that are ineffective and programs that may actually have a negative impact. Clearly, proper evaluation is crucial for the development of an effective, evidence-based strategy to reduce youth violence. Fortunately, although many programs have yet to be properly evaluated, there is a growing international literature on effective crime prevention techniques. In this section we highlight major findings from this literature in order to identify the types of programs that might be useful in reducing youth violence in this province.

A Note on Program Evaluation

The discussion in this report is based on an extensive review of government reports and the peer-reviewed academic literature on crime prevention. As such we focus primarily on programs that have been evaluated with the highest standards of scientific rigour. However, programs that have not been evaluated — or have only been subject to poor-quality evaluations — are sometimes included in our discussion. It should be noted that we do not argue that unevaluated — or under-evaluated programs — are ineffective. We do maintain, however, that it is virtually impossible to draw firm, empirically based conclusions about the effectiveness of programs that have not been subject to proper evaluation. Thus, in the following pages, any strong conclusions we make about effective or ineffective programs tend to be based on high quality research.

In order for an evaluation study to be considered "high quality," the following conditions typically have to be met:

- The program should be evaluated by objective, outside researchers with proper research training. Program personnel often do not have the knowledge or research skills needed to conduct high-quality evaluations. Furthermore, the objectivity of program staff can be questioned because they often have a vested interest in "proving" that their program is effective.

- Program objectives and goals need to be clearly articulated. Outcomes measures need to be properly designed so that they accurately reflect these goals and objectives.

- Ideally, evaluation studies should measure outcomes and behaviours before and after program implementation. In other words, a ***pre-test/post-test design*** is required. This is the only way to determine whether the program has truly had an impact over time.

- High-quality evaluation studies should also employ a control group that does not receive the program or treatment. This is the only way to accurately determine whether observed changes in important outcome variables are the result of a particular violence prevention strategy and not the result of other, outside influences.

- High-quality evaluation studies should randomly assign subjects to the program (experimental) group and the control group. Randomization prevents subjects from being "screened" into a program based on their potential to succeed.[1]

- High-quality evaluation studies should also measure both short-term and long-term impacts.

Most of the programs discussed in this report have been subject to relatively high-quality evaluations that employed most – if not all – of the methodological criteria described above. Using the same high standards as number of prestigious crime prevention organizations (the Centre for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado; the National Crime Prevention Centre; the United States Surgeon General; the United States Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention; the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration of the United States Department of Health and Human Resources; the National Institute of Justice, the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, etc.), we classified programs into three main categories:

1. **Proven (Model) Programs:** Prevention programs that have been proven effective through numerous high-quality evaluations in different communities or settings. As established by the published literature, these programs have either directly or indirectly reduced violent or aggressive behaviour in youthful populations.

2. **Promising Programs:** Prevention programs that have been subject to limited evaluation and have produced some positive results. However, unlike proven programs, promising programs may not have been evaluated using the most rigorous scientific standards, they may have produced inconsistent results, or they may not have been replicated in different types of communities. Such programs are thus endorsed with caution until they have been more fully evaluated.

3. **Ineffective Programs:** Ineffective programs or strategies have been subject to high-quality evaluations. However, evaluation results indicate that these programs have either no impact or a negative impact on violent behaviour and youth crime.

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[1] *Due to pressures to "prove" effectiveness, program staff may want to select subjects they feel will benefit from the program and exclude those they feel are likely to fail.*

Outline of the Report

Any cursory review of the academic literature will quickly reveal that crime prevention programs and strategies come in a wide variety of different categories. Tough policing practices, correctional treatment regimes, adult mentoring strategies, and arts and recreational initiatives are some examples. Thus, in the following pages, we review the evaluation literature by type of crime prevention program or approach. To begin with, Chapter Two reviews research related to aggressive policing strategies including increased police patrols, hotspot policing, and special guns and gangs units. Chapter Three, on the other hand, reviews the literature on community policing approaches to crime prevention. Chapter Four reviews the literature on deterrence strategies – including harsh punishments for young offenders. In Chapter Five, we briefly discuss the extensive literature on rehabilitation or treatment programs for convicted offenders. The next sections of the report deal with approaches that lie outside of the criminal justice system. Chapter 6, for example, focuses on early childhood development strategies for preventing crime and violence in adolescence and adulthood. Chapter 7 examines school-based strategies for crime prevention and Chapter 8 reviews the literature on youth employment programs. Chapter 9 investigates the effectiveness of various youth mentoring strategies. Chapters 10 and 11 focus on sports and arts and recreation initiatives respectively. Finally, Chapter 12 provides a review of general community development strategies for crime prevention. The report concludes with a summary of major findings and a call for a case management approach to program management.

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Aggressive Policing Strategies[2]

"Get tough" policing strategies are often controversial. This is because, even if they are effective in reducing crime (and many are not), they raise questions about police powers and due process. This chapter seeks to review and assess some of the "get tough" policing strategies that have become popular or widespread in North America and the United Kingdom.

As with most issues in the social sciences, there seem to be mixed findings for most types of interventions. However, there is some consensus around programs that are either clearly ineffective and those seem promising.

What is "get tough" policing? For the purpose of this chapter, it is the "weed" portion of the so-called "weed and seed" approach to crime. In other words, getting tough is any strategy that involves more police numbers, more police powers, and/or more aggressive policing. Under the umbrella term "get tough," the following policing strategies are reviewed in this chapter: increasing police numbers; rapid response; broken windows theory; zero tolerance policing; hot spots policing; and "guns and gangs" policing.

There is substantial overlap between these policing strategies; for example, a zero tolerance approach to policing is likely to subscribe to the broken windows theory of crime. However, each strategy is given separate treatment in the chapter because each topic has specific programs and philosophies associated with it. In all cases, the literature is reviewed with a view to understanding the strengths and weakness of each approach, and to identify the existing social science evidence relating to the programs' efficacy.

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[2] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Lysandra Marshall, Ph.D candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Increased Police Numbers

One of the most often cited truisms about policing is: the larger the number of police, the less crime there is (Bayley, 1994; Sherman and Eck, 2002). Governments point to increased hiring of police officers as evidence that they are "getting tough" on crime and taking community safety seriously (cf. Government of Ontario, 2008). However, this conventional wisdom concerning the relationship between police numbers and crime has been seriously questioned by a number of police scholars. Bayley (1994:3), for example, is one prominent criminologist who has long argued that increasing the number of police on the street has little impact on crime rates. According to Bayley, research confirms that urban crime rates are unrelated to the relative size of the local police force. Indeed, many cities with high numbers of police officers per citizen have higher crime rates than cities with relatively small police forces (Bayley, 1994:3). Bayley argues that the lack of a statistically significant relationship between police numbers and crime can be explained by the fact that the root causes of crime have nothing to do with policing. In other words, efforts to increase police numbers without addressing the social conditions that give rise to crime will ultimately have little impact on the amount of crime in a given society.

Sherman and Eck (2002) also question the conventional wisdom surrounding numbers of police. They warn that police may well not be able to prevent crime if they are not focused on "specific objectives, task, places, times, and people" (295), and many of the police's crime prevention strategies are not.

Sherman and Eck (2002) propose the following explanation for the popularity of the "increased police numbers" hypothesis. According to them, levels of violence in the 19th century declined while police numbers in the UK, U.S., and other western nations increased. Thus, the argument goes, observers attributed the decrease in crime to strong police presence (Sherman and Eck, 2002: 296).

However, most social research tends to debunk the conventional wisdom that police numbers have a direct impact on crime rates. One of the most widely cited studies is the Kansas City Preventative Patrol Experiment (Kelling, 1974). The study design comprised three areas that were given different "treatments." One area, the control area, experienced no change in patrol. The second area was assigned extra patrols, and the third area had all routine preventative patrols removed (officers only entered the area to respond to calls for service). The study found that "few differences and no consistent patterns of differences in rates of reporting crime to the police occurred across experimental conditions" (Kelling, 1974). This study has been used to demonstrate that increases in police numbers have not been proven to reduce crime.

Sherman and Eck (2002) examine research on the strategy of increasing police numbers in order to reduce crime in a given area. They do not find evidence supporting the increased numbers hypothesis. While multiple studies examining the effect of *no* police – for example, police strikes (Andenaes, 1974; Clark, 1969; Russell, 1975; Sellwood, 1978; cited in Sherman and Eck, 2002) – show that crime will "skyrocket" in these rare circumstances, studies that examine increases in already-existing police forces do not find significant decreases in crime. Two reviews of police-crime studies found little evidence that numbers of police influence crime (Moody and Marvell, 1996; Eck and Maguire, 2000). However, Moody and Marvell (1996) also analyzed data from 49 states and 56 U.S. cities and found significant negative effects of police numbers on crime in the big cities, but not at the state level. Sherman and Eck (2002) infer the following from the Moody and Marvell study: "The evidence for the marginal effectiveness of adding police officers willy-nilly to police agencies is weak and inconsistent, in the absence of clear indicators of what they do and where they do it." (305). In addition, the methods used in all the police-crime studies above are rated as poor by Sherman and Eck (2002).

Maguire et al. (2002) also conclude that the evidence supporting the underlying hypothesis of increasing police numbers is inconclusive. Maguire et al. cite the Kansas City patrol study, described above, as well as a review by the Home Office in the UK (Clarke and Hough, 1984). Clarke and Hough (1984) conclude that the evidence on conventional deterrent policing (foot and car patrol and detective work), suggests that crime will not be significantly reduced simply by devoting more manpower to these tasks.

Finally, David Bayley points out that any changes in police numbers that occur "as a result of normal political and budgetary pressures" will be too small to make any difference in rates of crime (1994: 5). Bayley concludes that it is "unlikely that crime will be reduced if we try to spend our way to safety by adding police officers. Changes in the number of police within any practicable range will have no effect on crime" (ibid.).

Rapid Response

The "rapid response" hypothesis – the faster the police respond to calls, the greater the reduction in crime – is a close relative of the "increased police numbers" hypothesis. Conventional wisdom asserts that more police, combined with an emergency call service (such as 911), will result in more rapid police responses. According to proponents of rapid response, there will be less crime because rapid response a) operates as a deterrent to would-be burglars (as an example), b) reduces harm to victims when crime does occur and c) results in more arrests (more criminals caught "red handed") and therefore increases incapacitation (Sherman and Eck, 2002: 304).

Coupe and Griffiths (1996, 2000) conducted a study of residential burglaries on behalf of the Home Office, in a city located in the West Midlands, UK. The authors identified that the most important factor in detecting burglaries was catching the criminal in the act. The authors also identified that a quick response was lacking in a large portion of the cases examined in the study, and they postulate that a quicker response may have increased detection rates and victim satisfaction. Thus, "catching more offenders in the act, by responding to alerts more quickly and in greater numbers, particularly during weekday afternoons when many of the least successful responses to 'in progress' burglaries were made … offers the greatest opportunity for boosting detections" (Coupe and Griffiths, 1996: vi).

While the Coupe and Griffiths hypothesis is in line with common-sense notions of how police are effective, it is directly contradicted by three early studies on emergency response. According to Bayley (1998), studies on police response time by Bieck and Kessler (1977), Percy (1980), and Spelman and Brown (1981) found that the speed of police response to calls for service "does not affect arrest rates" and "rarely prevents further injury or damage" (Bayley, 1998: 52).

The above discussion on police numbers and rapid response has shown that conventional wisdom about policing is rarely confirmed by social science knowledge about policing. The next section also examines some popular aggressive policing tactics that are also in line with conventional wisdom or "folk knowledge" about policing. Unlike the research on police numbers and rapid response, there are *some* studies that show support for some of the following "get tough" policing strategies.

Broken Windows, Zero Tolerance and Hot Spots Policing

This section will describe the broken windows theory of crime, as well as two separate yet related policing strategies: zero tolerance and hot spots policing. This section will identify some police crime reduction programs that have arisen as a result of the broken windows approach, review the social science evaluations (if any) of the effectiveness of the broken window programs, and identify strength and weakness of the methodologies (of both the programs and the evaluations of the programs). This section will conclude with a discussion of the implications of the main findings regarding broken windows, including political, community trust and cost-effectiveness.

The Broken Windows Theory of Crime

In an influential magazine article, criminologists Wilson and Kelling proposed the broken windows theory of crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). The theory suggests that signs of disorder in a neighbourhood – such as broken windows, dilapidated buildings, litter, etc. – can lead to more serious crime in that same neighbourhood. The hypothesis underlying the theory is that signs of disorder in a neighbourhood can undermine the ways in which residents can exert social control. The lack of social control makes the neighbourhood attractive to other social disorder activities such as public drinking and prostitution. In turn, this degraded environment is attractive to semi-commercial criminal enterprises such as drug dealing and elevates further the level of serious crime in the neighbourhood (Maguire, Morgan and Reiner, 2002; Sherman and Eck, 2002; Skogan, 1990).

The key implication of the broken windows theory for policing is a radical departure from traditional policing strategies: broken windows policing means policing minor offences in order to affect a reduction in serious crimes (Maguire et al., 2002; Sherman and Eck, 2002; Skogan, 1990).

Skogan (1990) studied the relationship between crime and disorder using data from multi-site, cross-sectional surveys of inner cities in the United States. He found some support for the Wilson and Kellings broken windows hypothesis:

> Perceived crime problems, fear of crime, and actual victimization all were linked to social and physical disorder in the area. Those relationships were strong even when other important determinants of area crime were taken into account, suggesting that disorder could play a role in stimulating neighbourhood crime. (Skogan, 1990: 84.)

The broken windows theory of crime has been tested in several other studies, with generally supportive results (although with some methodological concerns, according to Sherman and Eck, 2002). Wilson and Boland (1978) and Sampson and Cohen (1988) used national samples of cities to examine the effects of police arrest rates for minor offences on the more serious crime of robbery (cited in Sherman and Eck, 2002: 312). Both studies found support for the hypothesis that aggressive, proactive arrests for minor offences would reduce rates of robbery. However, these studies have been questioned because they use arrests as a measure of policing aggressiveness, which are largely a result of traffic stops, whereas robbery is most likely to occur in pedestrian-heavy areas (Sherman and Eck, 2002).

Further support for the broken windows/ proactive policing hypothesis is found in a quasi-experimental study of the Indianapolis Police Department. McGarrell et al. (2001) found that increases in traffic enforcement resulted in reductions in violent gun-related crime in at least one study area. Weak support for the broken windows hypothesis is found in a longitudinal study of the policing of "incivilities" (disorder) in Baltimore. Taylor (2001) found that while disorder policing did have some effects on serious crime, it did not have an effect on as wide a range of crimes as would be suggested from the original theory (Taylor, 2001).

In a recent commentary on the state of broken windows policing, Skogan reflects on how widely the theory and its hypotheses have been embraced:

> As a result of adopting the broken windows theory of neighborhood decline wholeheartedly (see Skogan, 2006), Chicago police now find themselves involved in a host of new activities. They orchestrate neighborhood cleanups and graffiti paint-outs by volunteers and city workers, distribute bracelets that will identify senior citizens if they fall down, and take note of burned out street lights and trees that need trimming. Officers drop into stores to ask merchants to display signs requesting that patrons refrain from giving money to panhandlers. The public steers police toward problems created by the sale of loose cigarettes and individual cans of beer at convenience and grocery stores because they encourage loitering and public drinking. Those sales are illegal but truly soft crimes (Skogan, 2008: 199).

Unfortunately, this rather romantic view of broken windows policing completely ignores the aggressive aspects of this type of policing, and focuses more on the "soft" side of broken windows. The rosy picture that Skogan depicts in the excerpt illustrates the allure of the broken windows approach: police can still align broken windows policing to the wider goals of community policing. This may not hold true for zero tolerance policing, as we shall see.

In sum, Sherman and Eck (2002) generally find supporting evidence for proactive (broken windows) arrests. For example, crackdowns on drunk driving and traffic arrests led to decreases in crime rates in several studies (314). However, drug crackdowns showed modest short-term reductions in crime in the areas where police raids took place, and showed a return to pre-raid crime rates within seven days. The drug raids were deemed to be labour-intensive and not cost-effective (Sherman and Eck, 2002: 314). As with zero tolerance policing (discussed below), the authors express the concern that broken windows policies may have positive short-term effects but may increase crime in the long term (ibid.).

Zero Tolerance

What is zero tolerance policing? It is difficult to find a definition of zero tolerance policing. It often associated with the "get tough" attitudes and policies of Mayor *Giuliani and Police Chief Bratten in* New York City *in the* 1990s. Crackdowns on panhandlers, "squeegee" kids, and other "quality of life" policing come to mind. Some of the characteristics of zero tolerance policing include a focus on disorder; proactive stops, searches and arrests; the use of civilian sanctions; low police discretion; and eschewing of community involvement (Goff, 2004).

In an article that traces the genealogy of zero tolerance, Newburn and Jones propose a savvy definition:

> It is difficult to specify a particular set of policy interventions that characterize Zero Tolerance anti-drug policies. The term has been used primarily as a rhetorical device, used to signal uncompromising and authoritative action by the State and its agencies, against an external and internal enemy. It has denoted an unambiguous faith in a criminal justice response to the problem of drugs, diversion of resources to enforcement from other response (such as treatment), harsher punishments and a weakening of 'due process' considerations in favour of those of 'crime control' (Newburn and Jones, 2007: 223).

According to Newburn and Jones, the following activities were associated with NYC policing in the 1990s, and may have been mislabeled as "zero tolerance":

- Vigorous law-enforcement responses to minor crime and disorder
- Use of civil remedies against those perceived to be involved in criminal activities
- Enhanced accountability, using Compstat of local police managers for crime and disorder in their areas
- Public target setting for crime reduction
- Conspicuous use of the media as a public relations tool for police
- Aggressive enforcement action against street crimes.
  (Newburn and Jones 2007: 226).

Several studies of zero tolerance policing in NYC have found tentative support for the hypothesis that changes in the policing of misdemeanours contributed to the dramatic declines in homicides in the 1990s (Kelling and Bratton, 1998). However, some academics have been skeptical of the zero tolerance approach to policing. Bowling (1999) argues that the zero tolerance policing in NYC was oversold to the public through the media and police agencies, and that zero tolerance may be an inappropriate term to apply to policing strategies.

Bowling questions the conventional wisdom around the New York City crime story – that the decline in the city's murder rate from 1991 to 1997 can be attributed to the mayor's so-called zero tolerance approach. Bowling suggests that the crack cocaine drug market spiked just before the implementation of intensified policing in New York City, and therefore the decline in homicide may be attributable to a drug decline already under way (Bowling, 1999). Further, others have suggested that the level of public complaints and dissatisfaction resulting from the aggressive policing in New York City was too high a cost regardless (Greene, 1999).

Sherman and Eck (2002) catalogue a number of studies that arguably test the effectiveness of zero tolerance policing. A controlled study of aggressive field interrogations in San Diego (Boydstun, 1975) found that the study area for which all field interrogations were suspended experienced an increase in robbery, burglary, grand theft, petty theft, auto theft, assault, and sex crimes (classified as "suppressible crimes" by the study authors, and as "outdoor crime" by Sherman and Eck). However, Boydstun also found that the area that received an increase in field interrogations (generally considered an important element of zero tolerance policing) did not experience a discernible decrease in these "suppressible" crimes (1975).

The list of zero tolerance studies with mixed results is long. Sherman (1990), in a review of 15 case studies of police crackdowns, found that a) increased field interrogations did lead to fewer "outdoor" crimes such as robbery, larceny and auto theft; however, b) there were no reductions in robbery as a result of police crackdowns on disorder (Sherman, 1990).

Kelling and Coles (1996, cited in Sherman and Eck, 2002) conducted case studies of broken windows policing in several U.S.US cities. They found some evidence in support of police "crackdowns" on minor offences translating into reductions in more serious crime: in their assessment of a police crackdown on fare-dodging in the New York City subway, they found the crackdown did reduce the number of robberies on the subway.

Novak et al. (1999) evaluated a one-month program of aggressive policing on disorder crime – such as public intoxication and loitering – in a Midwestern United States city. The evaluators found no reduction in burglary or robbery as a result of the proactive disorder enforcement (Novak, Harman, and Holsinger, 1999).

Despite these findings, Sherman and Eck (2002) postulate that zero tolerance activities, whether or not effective in the short term, may have unexamined long-term consequences. There is also some consensus, as with broken windows in general, that zero tolerance policies result in increased public complaints against police, and dissatisfaction – especially amongst minority communities.

Hot Spots Policing

The hot spots policing hypothesis is the idea that "the more precisely patrol presence is concentrated at the 'hot spots' and 'hot times' of criminal activity, the less crime there will be in those places and times" (Sherman and Eck, 2002: 308). Crime mapping technology has become the most well-known innovation associated with hot spots policing; indeed, a recent report found that "7 in 10 departments with more than 100 sworn officers reported using crime mapping to identify crime hot spots," making hot spots policing one of the most popular crime reduction strategies in the United States (Braga, 2005: 317). The policing activities associated with hot spots policing are directed patrol, heightened traffic enforcement, and aggressive disorder enforcement (Braga, 2005). According to Braga, one-off police crackdowns should not be considered hot spot policing, but crackdowns that are conducted on an ongoing basis with frequent follow-up can be classified as hot spots policing (Braga, 2005). Thus, we can see that although hot spots policing is not as extreme as zero tolerance policing, it does qualify as a "get tough" policing strategy.

There does not appear to be a body of academic literature addressing the relationship, if any, between hot spots policing and broken windows theory; however, it could be argued that the two approaches have much in common. For example, both strategies stem from theories such as rational choice, routine activities, and environmental criminology (Braga, 2005). Basic assumptions that provide the basis for the broken windows theory of crime seem important to the conceptual framework of hot spots policing. For example, hot spots researchers have identified that facilities and site features of particular places (like street corners with abandoned buildings) make them attractive to criminals (ibid.: 319). It can be argued, then, that broken windows-style disorder in neighbourhoods needs to be identified in order for hot spots policing to be implemented in a given neighbourhood.

The research evidence regarding hot spots policing is more supportive over all than the evidence for zero tolerance policing. Sherman and Eck (2002) surmise that the well-funded U.S. research on directed patrol (hot spots policing) has generally had supportive results. Two studies using data from the Minneapolis Police Department patrol project found supporting evidence for the hot spots hypothesis in policing

(Sherman and Eck, 2002: 308-309). Sherman and Weisburd (1995, cited in Sherman and Eck, 2002) found that areas in the experiment that received extra patrols (100 per cent more) had a reduction of crime of up to 50 per cent. In a study using the same data from Minneapolis, Koper (1995, cited in Sherman and Eck, 2002) analyzed the impact of the length of the patrol visit on crime reduction. Koper discovered that longer patrol visits (up to 15 minutes long) paid off with longer crime-free periods following the visit.

However, Sherman and Eck (2002) raise two concerns about the evidence for hot spots policing. Firstly, there is concern that many studies do not account for displacement of crime to other areas for the duration of the intervention studied. Secondly, the evidence for hot spots policing is mixed for the policing of drug markets. For example, May et al. (2000) found that low-level enforcement in two UK drug markets did not appear to have an impact on above-street-level distribution. The authors conclude that police enforcement is largely ineffective (May, Harocopos and Turnbull, 2000).

Similar to the UK findings, U.S. studies that test whether sustained drug "crackdowns" have an effect on levels of violence have been inconclusive. In a controlled experiment, Sherman and Rogan (1995) found that crackdowns and raids on crack houses in Kansas City, Missouri reduced crime in the hot spots for only two weeks. The authors therefore conclude that "crackdowns" in the form of raids on crack houses, which are resource intensive, may not be cost-effective (Sherman and Rogan, 1995).

A randomized experimental evaluation of hot spot policing in New Jersey, which included police crackdowns on drug hot spots showed significant impact on disorder offences (Weisburd and Green, 1995). Crackdowns consisted of intensive policing of a particular street corner in order to "shut down" the drug market operating at that location. Crackdowns happen at a specific point in time, with follow-up visits in the next few days if necessary. However, the authors found that the police crackdowns did not influence violent or property crime (Weisburd and Green, 1995:723).

Finally, Braga (2005), in a recent systematic review and meta-analysis of five hot spots policing randomized controlled trials, concluded "four of five experimental evaluations reported noteworthy crime and disorder reductions" (336). In addition, "a meta-analysis of key reported outcome measures revealed a medium statistically significant mean effect size favoring the effects of hot spots policing in reducing citizen calls for service in treatment places relative to control places" (ibid.). The evidence, then, is generally supportive of hot spots policing, but it should be taken into consideration that most of the studies measured neither displacement of crime nor the long-term effects of hot spots policing.

Given these research limitations, a cautionary note from an early study on hot spots policing is still relevant today. Chaiken (1977), reviewing the deterrent effect of various police activities in a RAND corporation report, notes: "most studies are consistent with the view that a substantial increase in police activity will reduce crime for a time, but, in the real world, increases in police manpower tend to follow increases in crime. The magnitude and duration of deterrence effects are essentially unknown."

Guns & Gangs

This section will review gang interventions that involve aggressive policing of guns and gangs. The earliest programs were "street worker" based, and relied on an individual street worker's relationship with gang members; this model is dubbed the "gang transformation model." With the more conservative political movements of the 1980's, a deterrence model of gang suppression overtook the street worker model. The police took a leading role in deterrence-based suppression measures (Klein and Maxson, 2006).

Before a discussion of aggressive policing of gangs, it is prudent to acknowledge the myriad of other ways police try to solve the "gang problem" through strategies of prevention and intervention. While many of these programs have intentions that are commendable and are popular with the public – parents and teachers especially – almost all gang prevention programs are ineffective (Esbensen, Osgood, Taylor, Peterson and Freng, 2001; J. Greene and Pranis, 2007; Katz and Webb, 2006; Klein, 2006; Stinchcomb, 2002; Weisel and Painter, 1997). According to Klein and Maxson (2006), most gang-related programs suffer from relying on conventional wisdom about gangs, rather than on social science knowledge about gangs. As a result, according to Klein and Maxson, "For the most part, these programs, with their conventional wisdoms, became conventional failures" (91).

Police crackdowns on guns and gangs have been a feature of police responses to gangs since the 1980s. Sherman (1990) defines a police crackdown as "a sharp increase in law enforcement resources applied to the previously under-enforced laws, with a clear goal of enhancing general deterrence of the misconduct" (129). Scholars speculate that the conservatism of the Reagan years in the 1980s, combined with the perception of failed social interventionist strategies of the 1960s and 1970s, paved the way for more "get tough" policing in the 1980s and 1990s (Greene and Pranis, 2007; Katz and Webb, 2006; Klein and Maxson, 2006).

Crackdowns in the context of gang members and gang-related crime have not been systematically evaluated (Fritsch, Caeti and Taylor, 1999; Klein, 2006). However, the negative consequences of police crackdowns are embodied in the experience of Operation Hammer, which was instigated by the LAPD in 1987. It was a "preannounced, media-covered gang sweep" of Black gang-involved neighbourhoods involving over 1,000 officers (Fritsch et al., 1999: 126). Operation Hammer resulted in "1,453 juveniles being arrested; however, 1,350 were released without formal charges being filed" (ibid.). Klein and Maxson note that Operation Hammer resulted in few convictions, but that "community resentment flourished" (Klein and Maxson, 2006: 241).

Aggressive policing of truancy and curfew (crackdowns), as part of an anti-gang initiative in Dallas, was assessed by Fritsch et al. (1999). The authors found that saturation patrols, including intensive stops and frisks of suspected gang members, did not have an effect. However, they found the enforcement crackdowns on curfews and truancy did appear to reduce gang-related violence, although overall gang-related offences reported to the police did not change (Fritsch et al., 1999).

According to Greene and Pranis (2007), an example of a "balanced" model of gang suppression is found in Boston's Operation Ceasefire. This operation was based on deterrence of gun violence through aggressive policing tactics, but according to Braga et al., the actors involved traded zero tolerance fantasies of the elimination of all gang crime for more realistic reductions in gun violence by leveraging knowledge about gang members' activities. The philosophy of policing in Operation Ceasefire is: "We're here because of the shooting.... We're not going to leave until it stops. And until it does, nobody is going to so much as jaywalk, nor make any money, nor have any fun" (Greene and Pranis, 2007: 85). Time-series analysis evaluation of Operation Ceasefire concluded that the program was "associated with statistically significant reductions in youth and gun violence" (ibid.).

The most popular police response to gangs has been the establishment of specialized police gang units (Katz and Webb, 2006: 3). For example, over 56 per cent of municipal police departments in the U.S. have established gang units (ibid.: 9). On one hand, specialized gang units are a way for the police to show the public they are serious about gang-related crime. On the other hand, overly aggressive gang units themselves have attracted their fair share of negative publicity for the police. For example, Rampart CRASH unit officers in Los Angeles were found to be engaging in hard-core criminal activity. Officers admitted to attacking known gang members and falsely accusing them of crimes they had not committed. The ensuing investigation revealed that officers were routinely choking and punching gang members for the sole purpose of intimidation. In one case, officers had used a gang member as a human battering ram, forcefully thrusting his face repeatedly against a wall. Similarly, in Las Vegas, gang unit officers were found guilty of participating in a drive-by shooting. Two officers, one driving and the other hanging outside a van, had driven around a well-known neighbourhood until they found a group of gang members loitering on a street corner. The officer hanging outside the van shot six times into the crowd, killing a 21-year-old male (Katz and Webb, 2006: 3).

Katz and Webb (2006) report on the results of their study of four police gang units in the Southwestern United States. The methodologies used in the study were field observation, interviews with gang unit officers (n=76) and other stakeholders (n=69), review of documents generated by the gang units and police departments (n=275), and newspaper articles (n=285). Katz and Webb find, contrary to some gang unit research, that the formation of gang units in the cities studied was not the result of knee-jerk reactions to moral panics about gang violence (267), but rather the police responding to a real or objective threat. However, they point out that the response of police to the gang problem – the formation of gang units – is an *indirect* response to this objective problem. The gang units, then, were responses to political pressure and public concern about high-profile incidents of gang violence, rather than responses to actual crime problems.

Katz and Webb draw some conclusions about the functioning and consequences of the four police gang units studied. Firstly, they find that the gang units and police officers studied lacked accountability to either the community or even their own police departments and supervisors:

> We concluded that the gang unit officers . . . were free to undertake any activity that interested them, had few expectations to meet, and had virtually no policies or training to guide their decision making. Gang unit officers were also rarely under the control or supervision of police management. They were physically and operationally isolated from the rest of the police department, and typically had little contact with "regular" police officers, criminal justice officials, the public, or community groups (Katz and Webb, 2006: 268).

The authors hypothesize, drawing from organizational theory, that the lack of accountability stems from the strategic and structural "decoupling" of gang units from their host departments. For example, three of the gang units studied were located off site in "secret" locations:

> Nearly all other police officers and criminal justice stakeholder were kept in the dark about their locations. Even those select few who may have been told where to find them could not enter unescorted. . . . In a few instances, we thought that the espoused need for secrecy had become cloaked with a cold war, spy-like quality, some gang officers asserting that their regular precinct stations or police headquarters had become subject to penetration by gang members, rendering intelligence files vulnerable to destruction or manipulation (Katz and Webb, 2006: 276).

Secondly, the researchers found that each gang unit, as a consequence of its isolation, had developed a subculture, which was largely responsible for guiding the activities deemed important for each unit. Thus, the work-group subculture replaced guidance from supervisors or departmental policies. This further encouraged what Katz and Webb dubbed the "buffet-style" policing that characterized the gang united studied. The development of gang unit subculture can also have more sinister undertones: "A still greater problem ... is the potential for [gang units] to develop unique internal subcultures that can become at odds with the mission of the parent department, or even with the law" (278). The authors cite the investigation into corruption of the LAPD's Rampart CRASH unit (see above).

Thirdly, Katz and Webb reveal that the relationships of the gang units studied with the communities they served and the goals and tenets of community policing was problematic. Given the units' isolation and self-directed activities, the researchers found that gang unit officers had almost no contact with the community, including very little contact with gang members themselves. They also found that the gang units operated with "no input from the community." Over all, Katz and Webb conclude that the gang units studied were antithetical to the stated goals of community policing of the wider department, media and public. This finding is echoed in Decker's recent call for police gang units to be expanded, but only within the framework of community policing (Decker, 2007).

Finally, Katz and Webb believe that the gang units that emphasized intelligence-gathering, both internally and externally, achieved a greater amount of legitimacy from providing a service to other organizations (such as schools). The intelligence function also allowed greater interaction with the community than the units that emphasized enforcement. The authors emphasize that the gang unit that leaned most towards the goal of intelligence-gathering was able to position itself as more legitimate and amenable to community policing goals than the enforcement-oriented gang units that struggled to earn legitimacy and were often at odds with community policing. Importantly, Katz and Webb also conclude that intelligence-gathering units represent a more cost-effective policing strategy than do the enforcement-oriented units.

In light of Katz and Webb's study of U.S. gang units, the following description of the Toronto Police gang unit is not encouraging:

> The logo of Canada's largest gang-suppression unit, the Toronto Police Guns and Gangs Task force, is perhaps emblematic of this ethic of confident state-sanctioned aggression. Adorning golf shirts and other popular swag sold at Task Force presentations to other gang cops and police service members, the striking logo features a muscular cartoon-like bulldog, its teeth clenched and its eyes shaded by

> wraparound sunglasses, holding a massive machine gun. Wearing a muscle shirt with the Toronto police logo, the dog has massive arms that feature a red bandana around the left biceps and a blue one around the right – perhaps a 'taking of the flag' sign of victory against some indeterminate Blood or Crip gang set (Chettleburgh, 2007: 147).

The Toronto unit would probably be classified as an enforcement-oriented unit and might suffer, according to Katz and Webb, from the problems of isolation and lack of legitimacy and accountability, and may be a resource-intensive policing style that is outside the purview of community policing goals. Unfortunately, there has been no research to date that has been able to measure the impact of Toronto's gang unit on either crime or community attitudes towards the police.

Conclusion

This review of "get tough" policing strategies illustrates that many aggressive policing strategies have been found to be clearly ineffective, or evidence regarding their effectiveness is inconclusive (Bayley, 1994, 1998; Greene and Pranis, 2007, Klein and Maxson, 2006; Katz and Webb, 2006; Maguire et al., 2002; Sherman and Eck, 2002). The most promising strategies seem to be the less-aggressive hot spots policing (though perhaps not for drug markets), and unique programs such as Operation Ceasefire that are sensitive to social processes associated with gangs and crime (Braga, 2005; Greene and Pranis, 2007; Sherman and Eck, 2002). The table below summarizes the findings of this chapter on "get tough" policing.

Table 1: Get Tough Policing and Crime Reduction

Get tough strategy	Underlying crime reduction hypothesis	Effectiveness	Evidence
Increase Police Numbers	More police = less crime	Inconclusive and/or not effective	Clarke & Hough (1984); Kelling et al. (1974); Marvel & Moody (1996); Eck and Maguire (2000)
Rapid Response	The faster the response to incidents, the less crime	Inconclusive	Bayley (1994,1998); Bieck & Kessler (1977); Spelman & Brown (1981)
Broken Windows	Signs of neighbourhood disorder erode community social controls and "invites" criminal activity to the area	Weak support for hypothesis	Skogan (1990); Wilson & Boland (1978); Sampson & Cohen (1988)
Zero Tolerance	Crackdowns on minor offences lead to a reduction on more serious offences	Inconclusive – can result in increased public complaints about police aggressiveness	Bowling (1999); Greene (1999); Kelling & Bratton (1998); Kelling & Coles (1996); Sherman (1990); Novak (1999)
Hot Spots (Directed Patrol)	Focus patrol on "hot spots" and "hot times" = less crime	May be effective in some contexts; not effective in hot spot policing of drug markets	Braga (2005); Sherman & Weisburd (1995); May et al. (2000)
Guns&Gangs: aggressive policing and specialized Police Gang Units	Marshal resources within a police organization to "fight back" against gangs and to show the community the police's commitment to solving the gang problem	Ineffective, with possible exception of Boston's Operation Ceasefire	Fritsch et al., (1999); Greene & Pranis (2007); Katz & Webb (2006); Klein & Maxson (2006)

Adapted from: Maguire et al., 2002; Sherman and Eck, 2002.

Some final thoughts on the popularity of "get tough" policing seem appropriate. The emphasis on the "get tough" approach to crime is perhaps not surprising given the political contexts of crime prevention policies in the United States. For example, the U.S. Department of Justice Weed and Seed program (which provided funding for some of the enforcement strategies discussed in this chapter) was designed to improve public safety and fear of crime by reducing or eliminating "violent crime, drug trafficking, and drug-related crime from targeted high crime neighbourhoods" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1998). Weed and seed programs stem from the broken windows style policing we have discussed throughout this chapter. The "weed" component is the "iron fist" of aggressive enforcement, while the "seed" component is the "velvet glove" of community engagement (Bridenball and Jesilow, 2005; Kraska and Paulsen, 1997).

Not surprisingly, scholars have noted that the "weed" component of the weed and seed program has overshadowed the "seed" component in political will, enthusiasm from law enforcement agencies and, most importantly, funding from federal agencies (Bridenhall and Jesilow, 2005; Miller, 2001). The most telling evidence of "weeding" outstripping "seeding" is the funding choices made by the Bush administration:

> The future of Weed and Seed programs, however, is unclear. George W. Bush's budget for 2003-2004 drastically cut federal funds for the programs, primarily as a means to finance antiterrorist activities. Money that was left in the budget was targeted for law enforcement activities. Seed efforts, already given secondary consideration by policy makers, all but vanished from the budget (Bridenhall and Jesilow, 2005: 66).

In Canada, the situation appears even more perplexing than in the United States. For example, while there have been at least some attempts at evaluating "get tough" policing initiatives in the United States, there is currently no publicly available research assessing the effectiveness or costs of "get tough" policing in Canada (Chettleburgh, 2007). This, despite the fact that the amount being spent in Ontario alone, following the Provincial government's expansion of the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) and its ongoing Guns and Gangs program, totals approximately $61 million.

Finally, new research on negative police-public interactions and their effect on public perceptions of police (and police legitimacy in general) raise questions about the unwanted side effects of aggressive policing. According to Skogan (2007), when it comes to encounters with police, "the impact of having a bad experience is four to fourteen times as great as that of having a positive experience" (99). Thus, the impact of negative encounters of the general public with police as a result of "get tough" policies (whether effective for crime reduction or not) can have deleterious and irreversible effects on policing legitimacy and ultimately impair their main functions. Indeed, Sherman and

Eck (2002) highlight the importance of process, rather than outcome, for the victims of crime and others who come into contact with the police:

> One of the most striking recent findings is the extent to which the police themselves create a risk factor for crime simply by using bad manners. Modest but consistent scientific evidence supports the hypothesis that the less respectful police are towards suspects and citizens generally, the less people will comply with the law. Changing police 'style' may thus be as important as focusing on police 'substance' (293).

The effect of aggressive policing tactics on the lives of ordinary people is unknown. Yet there have been instances where police raids have left ordinary people wondering what the benefits of "get tough" policing are. A recent media report on a raid by the Toronto Police Guns and Gangs Task Force on the home of a Toronto musician raised such questions. Kevin Clarke reported to the CBC that "a massive operation, over 50 police involved" broke down the door to his home, heavily armed, set off smoke bombs, cordoned off the neighbourhood and executed a search warrant (CBC news, 2008a). According to Clarke and his lawyer, the police found nothing and have not told him or his lawyer what they were looking for. Clarke feels both shaken and distrustful as a result of his experience. In a similar incident, heavily armed officers searched the home of Brian Henry, a prominent Black youth worker (ibid.). What impact do such raids have on the community's perception of the police and their trust in the criminal justice system? Unfortunately, due to a lack of evaluation research, we can't answer these questions at this time.

The lack of evaluation of aggressive policing in Canada, then, has two major implications. The first is that the effectiveness of these programs — with respect to reducing overall levels of crime and violence — is simply unknown. The second implication is that little is known about how these aggressive policing strategies impact the general population — especially the members of ethnic minority groups who often reside in targeted communities. As discussed above, we must consider the possibility that aggressive policing policies may have a negative impact on community perceptions of the justice system — a result that may temper the benefits of any reductions in local crime rates. In sum, the lack of evaluation means that members of the general public really have no ability to conduct a basic cost-benefit analysis that will help them determine whether their tax dollars are being spent in the most productive manner.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that we are not at this time arguing that aggressive police strategies in Ontario — including TAVIS and the Guns and Gangs Task Force — are proven to be ineffective. Indeed, they may have many benefits. They may, for example, bring dangerous criminals to justice, deter crime, reduce fear of crime in specific communities and increase public trust in the police. However, as the above discussion denotes, previous research suggests that these aggressive policing programs may also be expensive, may not reduce crime rates in the long term and could have a very negative impact on community perceptions of the justice system. The only way to truly determine the long-term benefits – and consequences – of such programs would be to conduct rigorous, transparent evaluations.

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Community Policing Strategies[3]

Introduction

During the course of their work, the police interact with the communities that they serve in various ways. The community is reliant upon the police to curb disorder and help in times of emergency. The police, on the other hand, rely on the community to report crime and provide vital information that is necessary for them to solve crime and address community concerns. In recent decades, this relationship has developed as the police and the communities they serve have come to expect more from one another as each increasingly recognizes the importance of working together as partners. In addition to the traditional forms of policing outlined in previous sections of this report, a reemergence of so called "community policing" and community policing initiatives has become widespread across Canada as well as many other nations. Generally, community policing is marked by a move away from centralized police departments that practice reactive policing, to more decentralized police structures that emphasize a proactive, problem-solving approach where the police work in close partnership with the communities they serve.

Community policing has become a popular concept. Indeed, few police services or elected officials wish to distance themselves from the rhetoric of community policing or community policing initiatives. For example, a 1997 survey conducted by the Police Foundation in the United States found that 85 per cent of police departments reported having adopted community policing or were in the process of doing so (Skogan, 2004). A more recent federal survey, with a much larger sample of American police departments (in cities with populations over 250,000) found that over 90 per cent of police services had full-time, trained community police officers in the field (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2004). Here in Ontario, police services are mandated under Section 1 (1) of the Adequacy Standards Regulation to provide community-based crime prevention initiatives (Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General, 2000).

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[3] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Akwasi Owusu-Bempah, Ph.d candidate, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

While there appears to be a great deal of community policing being undertaken, exactly what constitutes "community policing" is broad and far-reaching. The aim of this section, therefore, is to introduce the various concepts that are said to make up community policing. It will start by briefly examining why community policing has re-emerged as a dominant policing style in many jurisdictions. It will then look at how community policing is defined and examine the theories and principles that underpin it. This section will also outline how community policing is put into practice by examining both specific types of community policing initiatives as well as various case-studies of jurisdictions that have adopted community policing and/or implemented different components of a general community policing framework. Finally, this section will examine the effectiveness of specific community policing initiatives and community policing efforts to reduce youth violence. Our discussion ends with a brief examination of the various obstacles or challenges facing those who hope to implement effective community policing strategies.

Why Community Policing?

There are a number of compelling reasons why police officials and politicians have looked to community policing as a way forward. These reasons are mostly grounded in the history of policing, police research that has taken place over the past quarter century, the changing nature of communities, and the shifting characteristics of crime, violence, and disorder (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994: 3). Practitioners agree that there is, and has been, a pressing need for innovative practices within policing to help curb what some would consider a "crisis of violence" within many communities. The changing nature and elevated level of crime seen throughout Western nations in the 1970s, 1980s, and into the early 1990s caused police to seek more effective methods to curb disorder and control crime. It has also been recognized that curbing disorder, fighting crime, and increasing feelings of personal safety requires commitment from both the police and the public.

Eggers and O'Leary (1995) note that the public surrendered its role in controlling crime in the 1960s and increasingly relied upon the police to do the job. During this time, and in previous decades, police administrators implemented strategies and used new technologies to increase the distance between police personnel and the public they served. This effort was largely undertaken by police managers to lessen the corrupting influence that was believed to come from the community. Many police departments adopted top-down, militaristic, hierarchical management systems that imposed greater accountability on police managers and emphasized police professionalism. Many have argued that advances in policing methods and technologies, such as motorized patrols, radio dispatching, and use of rapid response techniques, created a greater rift between the community and the police. In other words, police officers no longer walked beats, nor did they get to know the neighbourhood residents they were serving (Weiss, 2006: 33). This resulted in the police having less awareness and involvement in the problems of the communities that they served. Police were often assigned patrol areas on a rotating basis, and were instructed to change routes frequently, in an effort to thwart criminals (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994: 6). As such, community members lost their ability to predict when they may be able to interact with local police, and thus, the police came to be viewed as strangers, disengaged from the community and its issues. The growing emphasis on rapid response tactics also meant that police were less concerned with community problems than they were with arriving at a crime scene in the least possible amount of time. Rapid response meant the police were acting fast but not necessarily being effective.

Police-community relations again suffered when the social unrest of the 1960s led to urban riots, assassinations, and increased gang violence. Some people came to view the police as an oppressive occupying force. Police brutality often sparked urban disorder, and some members of the public perceived the police as being at the forefront of maintaining an unjust and discriminatory society (Gaines and LeRoy-Miller, 2006). Perceptions of the police, particularly in terms of police legitimacy, have increasingly been viewed as important. Without confidence in the police, citizens become alienated and reluctant to cooperate with the police as witnesses, victims, or suspects. Such a situation thwarts the efforts of the police to control crime and maintain social order (Decker, 1980; Murty et al., 1990). More alarmingly, there is growing concern that perceived injustice itself causes criminal behaviour, which is counter-productive to the aims of policing (Tyler, 1990; Lafree, 1998). Several scholars have drawn a connection between perceived legitimacy of the police and criminal offending. Russell (1996), for example, argues that "unfair penalties, combined with a lack of sanctions for race-based harms diminishes faith in the justice system, which in turn sets the stage for criminal offending."

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, crime rates in many Western nations continued to rise despite improvements in police technology, training, and professionalism. Survey results also suggested that public confidence in the police was diminishing, particularly in poor, urban communities. As a result, many police managers realized that their "modern" policing methods were not as effective as they had had originally envisioned. Many police leaders ultimately concluded that they needed to turn to their community roots in an attempt to control crime and regain the respect and cooperation of the public.

Community Policing: Theory, Principles, and Practice

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, community policing is a broad and varying concept that has been understood and implemented in numerous ways. This is well captured by Weiss (2006), who writes that "while some law enforcement officials and academics view community policing as a *philosophy*, to better explain police work, most individuals in the field of policing view 'community policing' as an actual policing *technique*" (Weiss, 2006: 28). A contradiction, therefore, often arises between law enforcement's definition of community policing and more academic understanding of the concept. The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), a branch of the U.S. Department of Justice, provides the following institutional definition of community policing:

> Community policing focuses on crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services that includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention, problem solving, community engagement, and partnerships. The community policing model balances reactive responses to calls for service with proactive-problem solving centered on the causes of crime and disorder. Community policing requires police and citizens to join together as partners in the course of both identifying and effectively addressing these issues (Office of Community Oriented Policing, 2007).

By contrast, from a philosophical standpoint, Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1998) describe community policing as:

> A philosophical and an organizational strategy that promotes a new partnership between the people and their police. It is based on the premise that both the police and the community must work together as equal partners to identify, prioritize and solve contemporary problems such as crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder and overall neighborhood decay, with the goal of improving the overall quality of life in an area (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1998: 6).

From an applied perspective, Peter K. Manning (2003) comments:

> The role of the officer in a [community policing] scheme is to act as a relatively visible and available watcher, based normally in an area, representing differentiated social control. The officer strives to manage disorder, control crime, and produce some level of order maintenance. The community, for its part, is expected to provide problem concerns, information, support, and feedback. In some sense, they should provide the filter and screening of problems to focus police actions. The police are expected to respond to citizens' concerns whether expressed at meetings, rallies, in person, or by phone (Manning, 2003: 185).

These various definitions exemplify the difficulty in understanding and interpreting the term "community policing." It can mean different things to different people in different contexts. Although there is no clear definition of community policing, most practitioners and researchers would agree that there are a number of theoretical elements or principles said to comprise the community policing framework. The underlying philosophy is that improving the quality and quantity of contacts between the community and the police can increase the quality of life in a specific community. This puts an onus on the police to react quickly to urgent demands, and to work towards engaging and empowering communities to deal with their own problems. The police are also charged with collaborating and working actively with communities to address community concerns. Likewise, communities must be ready and willing to engage and work with the police to resolve community problems (Wilson: 8).

Theoretical Elements / Principles

In discussing community policing in Canada, Normandeau (1993) lays out seven theoretical elements in order to help explain community policing.

1. The mission of the police is basically to act as peace officers; the police officer, in his work, respects democratic rights and freedoms.

2. The police adopt a crucial strategy: systematic consultation with the community and its associations.

3. The attitude and behaviour of the police are always proactive and interactive (police-community).

4. The police devote their energies in part to the solutions of problems linked with crime and social disorder; in collaboration with the appropriate partners, they try to solve the causes of certain problems, at least partially, by prevention as much as by law enforcement.

5. The police, together with other major public and private services, help to improve the quality of life; by their community prevention programs, they try only to contain and reduce crime but also to reduce the fear of crime and promote a true feeling of community safety.

6. Front-line police officers are generalists rather than specialists, and have a high level of responsibility and autonomy, important in a decentralized organization.

7. The obligation to be rigorously accountable to the community and to the legitimate political authorities characterizes a police service of quality.

Normandeau's theoretical elements are evident in the general or common principles of community policing articulated by other scholars. Skogan and Harnet (1997), for example, argue that the central philosophy of community policing leads to four general principles:

1. Organizational decentralization and a reorientation of patrol to facilitate communication and information sharing between the police and the public.

2. A broad commitment to problem-oriented policing – that is, "a comprehensive plan for improving policing in which a high priority attached to addressing substantive problems shapes the police agency, influencing all changes in personnel, organization, and procedures" (Goldstein, 1990: 32) – that analyzes problems systematically to develop more effective means of addressing them.

3. Police consideration of community issues and priorities in tactic development.

4. Police commitment to solve problems on their own.

Similarly, Keeling and Cole (1996) identify what they consider to be the six most common principles of community policing to be:

1. Belief in a broad policing function beyond law enforcement.

2. Acknowledgement that the police rely on citizens in many ways.

3. Recognition that police work is complex and requires general knowledge, skill, and discretion.

4. Reliance on specific tactics targeted at problems and developed with the community rather than general tactics such as preventative patrol and rapid response.

5. Devolution of police authority to lower levels to respond to neighbourhood needs.

6. Commitment of police to serve multiple aims from reducing crime and fear to helping citizens manage problems.

The various theoretical elements and principles presented above can be grouped into three more general categories that have been identified as the most common features of police services that have adopted community policing framework: a) community partnership or engagement; b) a problem-solving orientation; and c) a focus on administrative decentralization (Skogan, 2006). These three features and their implications for implementation will be discussed at length in the paragraphs to follow.

The first common feature is community engagement. Developing and maintaining the trust of the community is pivotal to the success of community policing. Community engagement requires a policing perspective that goes beyond the standard law enforcement emphasis. This widened outlook recognizes the value of police activities that contribute to order and well-being in a community. Such activities could include working with residents to improve neighbourhood conditions, providing emergency social services to those at risk, conducting door-to-door visits to residences in order to increase perceptions of personal safety, or simply walking the beat. These types of activities serve to help develop trust between the police and the community. This in turn, allows the police to gain access to important information from the community which can lead to the prevention of crimes, increase support for crime control measures, and provide an avenue through which the police can develop a working relationship with the community (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994).

Community engagement also requires the active participation of members of the community; they must be actively engaged in efforts to enhance community safety themselves. This requires residents to be forthcoming in providing information to the police and to promptly report crimes when they occur. Citizen involvement also requires citizens to participate in activities such as youth-oriented crime prevention projects or sanctioned neighbourhood patrols (Skogan, 2006). One vital element of community engagement is the return of the foot patrol officer. Within a community-policing framework, the foot patrol officer is assigned to a designated beat for an extended period of time. The more noticeable presence of a long-term officer itself may encourage community response and build trust as citizens become more comfortable with the familiar face of their local officer (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994).

Developing trust and mobilizing citizens has proven in many cases to be quite difficult, and is unlikely to happen overnight. To build trust for an effective partnership, the police must treat citizens with dignity and respect. Arrogance, rudeness, and the unnecessary or excessive use of force will diminish the willingness of community members to engage with and provide information to the police. It must also be recognized that community engagement and mobilization will be easier to achieve in some neighbourhoods than in others. For example, establishing trust and gaining the cooperation of citizens is often easier in middle-class communities than it is in poorer communities where mistrust of and ambivalence toward the police may be entrenched (Sherman and Eck, 2002). The fundamental element of community policing is that police become an integral part of the community and the community assists in determining the priorities and goals as well as the allocation of resources. Furthermore, community policing promises to strengthen the capacity of communities to deal with crime and disorder on their own.

The second common feature of community policing is problem-solving or problem-oriented policing. Problem-solving differs from traditional policing in that it is proactive rather than reactive. As mentioned above, the police racing to crime scenes to gather reports from victims and witnesses characterized traditional policing. Thus, in the past, the police equated crime prevention and police effectiveness with arrest and incapacitation (Skogan, 2006: 7). Problem-solving, on the other hand, is based on the belief that "crime and disorder can be reduced in small geographic areas by carefully studying the characteristics of problems in the area, and then applying the appropriate resources" and on the assumption that "[i]ndividuals make choices based on the opportunities presented by the immediate physical and social characteristics of an area" (Eck and Sherman, 1987). Eck and Sherman characterize problem-oriented policing as follows:

The theory behind problem-oriented policing is simple. Underlying conditions create problems. These conditions might include the characteristics of the people involved (offenders, potential victims, and others), the social setting in which these people interact, the physical environments, and the way the public deals with these conditions. A problem created in one of these conditions may create one or more incidents. These incidents, while stemming from a common source, may appear to be different. For example, social and physical conditions in a deteriorated apartment complex may generate burglaries, acts of vandalism, intimidation of pedestrians by rowdy teenagers, and other incidents. These incidents, some of which come to police attention, are symptoms of the problems. The incidents will continue so long as the problem that creates them persists (Eck and Sherman, 1987: 26).

Problem-solving requires the involvement of the public in identifying and prioritizing a wide array of community problems, some of which are not criminal, such as the presence of abandoned cars on neighbourhood streets. The traditional conceptual model of problem-solving, SARA, follows these four steps:

1. Scan: Identify problems and prioritize them incorporating community input.

2. Analyze: Study information about offenders, victims, and crime locations.

3. Respond: Implement strategies that address the chronic character of priority problems by thinking "outside the box" of traditional police enforcement tactics and using new resources that were developed by the community to support problem-solving efforts.

4. Assess: Evaluate the effectiveness of the strategy through self-assessments to determine how well the plan has been carried out and what good has been accomplished (Goldstein, 2003).

Determining the underlying causes of crime and crime problems requires in-depth knowledge of the community and its issues. This is where community engagement and information sharing between the police and the public becomes particularly important. The police need to acutely listen to the concerns of the community and work cooperatively with them to identify and address problems. As with level of citizen engagement, the nature and severity of community problems varies widely in different communities as well as with in specific communities; the whole community may be plagued by a problem or it may be confined to one small geographical area. Herman Goldstein (1990), the father of problem-oriented policing, provides the following examples of community problems:

- An apartment complex with a high rate of burglaries and a high level of fear among residents.
- Panhandling that creates fear in a business district.
- Street prostitutes and the associated robbery of their patrons in a specific neighbourhood.
- Disorderly youth who regularly assemble in the parking lot of a convenience store.
- Intoxicated drivers.

Identifying, analyzing and responding to such problems require the police to work together with the public, community agencies, and social services to develop unique and tailor-made solutions. Problem-solving may involve eliminating a problem entirely, but this type of solution is usually limited to disorder problems; for example, the police working with city council to destroy or rehabilitate an old building that creates an atmosphere that is conducive to crime. Problem-solving can also involve reducing the number of occurrences of a specific problem. Drug-dealing and associated problems such as robbery or gang activity may be decreased if the police, community members, and social services agencies, such as health centres, set up rehabilitation and counselling facilities to reduce drug use. In order to be effective, problem-solving and problem-oriented policing demand significant changes in both police structure and levels of police authority. Street-level police officers need the ability to identify problems and solutions, with the help of the communities. This usually requires the restructuring and decentralization of police departments.

The final component, administrative decentralization, is closely linked to the implementation of community policing. Building effective community partnerships and developing effective problem-solving strategies requires the adoption of a new flexible style of policing management. Community policing stresses the importance of the individuality of police officers and the patrol function of policing. Under the professional model, patrol officers were accorded a relatively low status, despite the scope of the functions they performed (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994). The community policing approach requires a shift of responsibility, decision-making, and accountability down through the police organization to the patrol officer. The patrol officer is granted broad discretionary and decision making powers in order to determine, with the input of the community, what should be done in a given community and how it should be implemented.

Through knowledge-sharing with members of the community, patrol officers become most knowledgeable about the needs and strengths of their communities. Essentially, within community policing, patrol officers assume managerial responsibility for the delivery of police services within their patrol areas. Managerial responsibility means that patrol officers require relative assignment stability. This is explained by Oettmier and Bieck (1987):

> Having officers periodically rotate among the shifts impedes their ability to identify problems. It also discourages creative solutions to impact the problems, because officers end up rotating away from the problems. Thus, a sense of responsibility to identify and resolve problems if lost. Likewise, management cannot hold officers accountable to deal with problems if the officers are frequently rotated from one shift to another need to be assigned to an area for an extended period of time (Oettmier and Bieck, 1987).

Such a shift in the responsibilities and status of the patrol officer is essential to the community engagement and problem-solving components of community policing but has enormous organizational and managerial implications for police organizations. The whole police organization must be restructured in a way that supports the enhanced role of patrol officers and supports their efforts as well as encourages a cooperative approach to solving problems. Community policing requires the police organizational structure to become decentralized; important problems are identified and decisions are to be made from the bottom up instead of from the top down. This transformation in structure is crucial to the establishment of meaningful and productive ties with the community.

Decentralization is important not only so that the police can become more proactive and more preventative, but also so that they can respond to problems of varying importance and severity with greater effectiveness. When there are moves to flatten the structure of a police department, which results in the compressing of the rank structure, layers of bureaucracy are shed, resulting in faster communication time and decision-making processes (Skogan, 2006).

Community policing also changes the traditional functions of police supervisors and managers in order to support the increased responsibilities given to the patrol officer. Under the community policing rubric, the role of management is to guide rather than to order the actions of patrol officers, and to ensure that they are adequately supported in order to identify and solve problems within their communities. Traditionally, "marching orders" for policing came from two main sources: calls for service from the public regarding individual incidents and city-wide policing initiatives or programs originating at police headquarters or from city council. Police services were not structured to respond systematically to the requests or needs of community groups. They were also uncomfortable with having numerous priorities in different parts of the same jurisdiction (Skogan, 2006: 6). Administrative decentralization, combined with community engagement, enables the police to respond appropriately to problems and issues that are of importance to individual communities. Management must also be supportive, encourage creativity amongst patrol officers, and be sensitive to the voices and requests of community members. Furthermore, management must develop clear mission statements and values that support community engagement and the problem-solving role of the patrol officers. These values should provide both the public and the officers with a clear sense of the expanding focus and direction of the police organization.

Although not considered one of the core components of community policing, its ability to reduce the public's fear of crime has been acknowledged and valued by police services that have implemented it. Fear of crime can limit the amount of activity in neighbourhood streets by keeping residents in their homes, which itself can result in a greater number of crimes. Public disorder has been found to have a greater impact on fear of crime than the actual level of crime in a community (Kelling and Moore, 1988). The broken windows theory points out the demoralizing effect that abandoned buildings, graffiti, and general decay have on neighbourhoods (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). While there may be academic debate over whether such issues lead to an increased level of crime, there is a consensus that they are powerful generators of public fear and neighbourhood decline (Skogan, 2006). Police services attempting to reduce public fear of crime by curbing disorder pay increased attention to public drinking, loitering, panhandling, prostitution, graffiti, decrepit buildings and the like. By reducing fear of crime the police may be able to gain greater appreciation within the community.

Community Policing in Practice

The actual initiatives and strategies that have been implemented under the guise of community policing are as diverse as the definition of community policing itself. The following pages will demonstrate how community policing works in practice by discussing specific types of community policing initiatives as well as case studies and examples of cities that have implemented it. A list and brief description of the most common community policing initiatives is set out below:

Public Education Programs: Public education programs within community policing are implemented for several reasons. For example, they are used to garner general support for the police and for increases in police resources. Public education programs are also an important method through which the police can provide information to the public on how to avoid being victimized, or in the case of youth, how to avoid becoming involved in crime. One of the most common and highly acclaimed public education programs is D.A.R.E (Drug Abuse Resistance Education). Founded in Los Angeles in 1983, D.A.R.E. is a police officer-led series of classroom lessons that teaches children from kindergarten through grade 12 how to resist peer pressure and live productive, drug and violence-free lives. Although its effectiveness has been widely debated, the program has been implemented in 75 per cent of U.S. school districts and in more than 43 countries around the world (D.A.R.E. America, 1996).

Neighbourhood Watch Programs: Neighbourhood Watch is another highly popular form of community policing, which has variants known as Block Watch and Apartment Watch. Neighbourhood Watch usually involves community members coming together in small groups in a local residence to share information about local crime problems, share crime prevention strategies and develop plans for "watching" the neighbourhood and reporting crimes. Initial Neighbourhood Watch meetings are often organized by crime prevention officers from a local police department or community organization. Subsequent meetings involve presentations and sessions of property target hardening and the establishment of phone trees for surveillance and support. Members also discuss feelings and perceptions of local crime problems and develop solutions to deal with them (Rosenbaum, 1987).

Neighbourhood Town Meetings: Also known as community meetings, this type of initiative is popular for developing and maintaining contact between the police and the public. Unlike Neighbourhood Watch meetings, which are held in local residences, neighbourhood town meetings are held in open public spaces, such as schools or community centres, and are well advertised in order to obtain the greatest possible attendance. The meetings provide a forum for exchanging information and a venue for identifying, analyzing, and prioritizing problems within a community or neighbourhood. As with public education initiatives, neighbourhood town meetings also provide the police with an opportunity to gain public support for specific initiatives, as they are able explain at length why an initiative is important and how it will benefit the community (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993).

Storefront Ministations: Police ministations are part of the effort to decentralize the police and bring them closer to the communities they serve. Ministations are usually set up in accessible areas and staffed by a mix of sworn police officers, paid civilians, and unpaid volunteers. Ministations are used as another avenue for the police to share information with the public, such as crime control tips. They are also a useful way for the public to relay crime-related information to the police. In high crime areas, ministations may be erected to give the appearance of increased police presence.

Weed and Seed Programs: This strategy involves a two-pronged approach to crime prevention: law enforcement agencies and prosecutors cooperate in "weeding out" violent criminals and drug abusers, while community-based organizations work together to "seed" much-needed human services, including prevention, intervention, treatment, and neighbourhood restoration programs. There are four basic components to the weed and seed program: law enforcement; community policing; prevention, intervention, and treatment; and neighbourhood restoration. Four fundamental principles underlie the weed and seed strategy: collaboration, coordination, community participation and leveraging of resources. In most weed and seed sites, joint task forces of law enforcement agencies from different levels of government aim to reduce both crime and fear of crime. Unlike some of the other strategies mentioned above, weed and seed takes a more hard-line stance and enforcement-oriented approach to community policing (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007).

The above is certainly not an exhaustive list of community policing initiatives. Other programs include: Special Problem Solving Units, Fixed Patrol Assignments, Auxiliary Volunteer Programs and Community Newsletters/Websites. Jurisdictions that have implemented community policing have done so in a variety of ways. Some jurisdictions have attempted to include several of the initiatives listed above, while others have focused on including just one or two of them. The following pages will look at specific instances where community policing has been put into practice in Canadian and American cities to demonstrate the differing approaches.

One of the first police departments to implement community policing in Canada was the Halton Regional Police Service, which began a system of "team policing" in 1975. The Halton Regional Police Service serves the region of Halton, a municipality with a population of less than half a million people, which is located within the Greater Toronto Area (Halton Region, 2008). Halton Regional Police Service began to implement community policing more thoroughly in 1982, when a "proactive" policing squad was created and deployed in an area with the region's highest crime rate. The plan at the time was to build up a "good rapport" between officers and the public (Cooke-Scott, 1998). In 1982, the Force (later changed to "Service") adopted the following policing philosophy: "Halton Regional Police Force will respond to community needs through a combined strategy of preventative, proactive and reactive policing programs, using the concept of the Constable Generalist, the whole of which will be supported by a participatory management environment" (ibid.: 127). The stated philosophy involved taking a proactive approach: preventing crimes by creating conditions that make illegal acts less likely to occur. In the next two to three years, other programs were phased in, which included "community conference committees" administered by constables. These committees intended to give community members an opportunity to meet with one another and their local constable to voice complaints and discuss community problems. There were also structural changes made to the way that the traditional patrol "platoons" were deployed. As part of the "proactive policing" effort, patrol officers were directed to spend half of their work-time on proactive, or "community," policing (ibid.: 126). In addition to the policing initiatives put into practice in Halton, administrators also recognized the importance of developing a mission or vision statement that reflected their new philosophy.

In 1994, the second major phase of community policing was introduced to the Halton Regional Police Service. The second phase included a complete overhaul of the organizations management structure. An organizational review project was undertaken, consisting of eleven task forces including a Community Policing Policy and Service Review/Survey, Community Support Services, and a Communications Support task force. The project was led by upper and mid-level management and included voluntary participation from rank and file officers. The task forces were charged with "identifying and analyzing obstacles or 'tasks and activities' [that were] currently impeding the quantity and quality of direct service by officer[s]" (ibid.: 129). The reports of the combined task force included 55 structural and 115 procedural recommendations. The recommendations led to a move to a "team policing" approach and a "flattening out" of the entire structure of the Halton Regional Police Service. "Community policing" divisions also replaced existing divisions to show the Service's commitment to community policing. Since community policing was developed in the Halton region more than 25 years ago, the Service has been able to implement an approach that incorporates community engagement, problem-solving and organizational restructuring – the three key characteristics of community policing. While implementation of the community policing model was not perfect in Halton, their early adoption has resulted in the Halton Regional Police Service being the focus of studies by similar organizations from across North America and around the world (ibid.: 140).

Chicago has also received a great deal of attention for its community policing program. In April 1993, after a year of planning, Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) was field-tested in five selected districts around the city before being implemented on a city-wide basis. The CAPS program was designed to increase the responsiveness and effectiveness of police problem-solving by linking these efforts directly to a broad range of city services and involving the public in identifying and seeking solutions to neighbourhood problems – hallmarks of community policing. The problem-solving model formed the basis of CAPS. In CAPS, officers were expected to adopt a proactive, prevention-oriented stance toward a range of neighbourhood problems. Chicago's problem-solving model defined problems as "chronic concentrations of related incidents" (National Justice Institute, 2002: 3). The implementation of the CAPS program was based on reorganization of policing in Chicago around the city's 279 police beats. To better enable beat officers to work with residents and community organizations, rapid response teams were created to handle excess 911 calls. Nine or ten police officers were assigned to each police beat, and each beat had a sergeant tasked with overseeing the beat and holding quarterly meetings. Within the beats, tactical units and youth officers worked closely to support beat officers and shared responsibility for working with members of the community at beat meetings (National Justice Institute, 2002).

To elicit community participation, a major goal of CAPS, "beat meetings" were held on a monthly basis in public spaces such as churches and park buildings across the city. In addition to community members and the police voicing their concerns about beat problems, the meetings also included presentations by detectives or police from special units, representatives of city service agencies, school personnel, local business owners, and landlords who had an interest in beat or community problems. District Advisory Committees (DACs) were also established to develop joint police-citizen projects and were viewed as a vehicle to advise police commanders on problems within their area. DACs were composed of community leaders, school council members, ministers, business operators, and representatives of significant organizations and institutions in the district. The close links that CAPS established with the community were mirrored by connections with community and social service organizations to assist in problem-solving. City services were delivered based on citizen and community requests and an inter-agency taskforce worked on the logistics of coordinating problem-solving efforts (ibid.). Police resources were also strengthened through CAPS. An easy-to-use crime mapping system was introduced to identify problem areas within the city, anti-gang and drug-house ordinances were created which enabled swift solutions to be applied to problems, and increased cooperation with legal staff, such as prosecutors, assisted the police with complex and recurring problems (ibid.).

The CAPS program is still under way in Chicago and its effectiveness in reducing youth violence will be evaluated in the next section. The above examples exemplify how community policing can be put into practice in different ways; the Halton Regional Police Service implemented community policing gradually, and did so due to the initiative of a forward-thinking police chief, while the Chicago experience was quite different. Chicago implemented community policing in full swing after a brief trial period in an attempt to incorporate the three most common features of community policing: community engagement, organizational decentralization and problem-solving, with an emphasis on the latter. These examples also highlight how community policing can be put into practice in cities of different sizes and with different problems. This is one of the benefits of the community policing model. Its problem-solving and community engagement approach means that the initiatives put into action can be tailor-made to address the specific problems or issues that are either city-wide or occur in smaller geographical areas. This also means that community policing can look very different in different jurisdictions while adhering to some of the same common principles and containing the same practical elements. However, the great variation in community policing approaches can also result in great variation in the effectiveness of community policing. The next section will discuss evaluations of some of the most popular community policing programs.

Evaluating the Effectiveness of Community Policing

The results of available tests of the community policing hypothesis are mixed (Sherman and Eck, 2002: 315). There are a number of factors influencing the implementation and effectiveness of community policing. These include the police organizational structure and culture and community cooperation. However, it can be argued that the biggest factor influencing the effectiveness of community policing is the ambiguousness of the concept itself. Community policing is not a single police tactic or program; it is a collection of strategies that share a common philosophy or set of principles about the desired role of police in society, and thus has been applied in a multitude of different ways (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994: 302). The following examines the effectiveness of several of the most common strategies that are employed in the name of community policing.

Foot Patrol: Walking the beat has made a major comeback with the re-emergence of community policing. It is believed that the increased police presence will not only prevent crime, but also put the patrol officer back in touch with the community. This allows the officer to gain knowledge about the problems or issues plaguing a neighbourhood. The highly visible presence of the patrol officer is also expected to give neighbourhood residents and business owners an increased sense of safety and security. While the evidence suggests that foot patrols can achieve the latter, there is little evidence to suggest that having officers walk the beat actually reduces criminal offending in an area (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994). An evaluation of the Newark foot patrol experiment reported significant reductions in citizens' levels of fear of crime and perceptions of disorder. Interestingly, this finding was replicated again two years later in an evaluation that also included the city of Houston. In the second evaluation, perceptions of personal safety were up and disorder down, but levels of criminal victimization remained unchanged. In general, increased foot patrols were shown to have no effect on the level of crime in Newark or Houston (Pate et al., 1986).

Storefront Ministations: Another goal of community policing is to decentralize police services in order to bring police officers closer to the communities that they serve. One common way that this has been achieved, often at the request of individual neighbourhoods or communities, is through the establishment of police storefront ministations. The evidence from tests of ministations in Houston, Newark, and Birmingham (Alabama) has consistently shown that they have no impact on crime (Sherman and Eck, 2002: 317). However, there are some benefits of police ministations. The introduction of ministations in Houston was associated with a decrease in citizens' fear of crime and a change in perceptions of the amount of crime in the city, but these benefits were not shared by all members of the community. Younger residents, members of minority groups, renters, and those with lower income and less education were less likely to know about the police ministations or to report benefiting from them (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994: 306).

Community Meetings: Another popular program for increasing contact between the public and the police is community meetings. Within community policing, community meetings are intended to provide an opportunity for members of the public to voice their concerns and a forum for the police and the public to develop problem-solving strategies to identify issues. Evaluations of community meetings are mixed. A careful assessment of the Madison, Wisconsin community policing project, in which meetings played a central part, found no reduction in cri[illegible]n analysis of the "beat meetings" implemented in the CAPS project in Chicago showed more promise. These meetings focused more specifically on particular crime problems in an area and were able to develop ideas for what the police should do to combat these problems. The CAPS project is also notable for its ability to mobilize higher-crime areas to participate in these meetings, a feat not often achieved (Sherman and Eck, 2002).

Door-to-Door Visits: A less common but potentially more beneficial community policing practice is door-to-door visits to neighbourhood residences during the day. These visits can serve many purposes. They can be used to introduce patrol officers to local residents, to obtain information about local crime problems or about who is committing crime in an area, and also to provide information to local residents on how to reduce their chances of victimization. The available tests show relatively strong evidence of a connection between door-to-door visits and crime prevention. In the Houston example cited earlier, the overall rate of household victimization dropped substantially in the target areas, while no such reduction was found in the comparison area. The visits also prompted changes in residents' perceptions of crime and disorder. Here again the benefits of door-to-door visits were concentrated among white middle-class homeowners, with little benefit for the most disadvantaged residents in the city (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994; Sherman and Eck, 2002).

In summary, determining whether the above community policing initiatives are effective depends on how effectiveness is defined. The only initiative that was shown to reduce the level of crime in an area was door-to-door visits by police officers. On the other hand, each of the initiatives was effective in either reducing fear of crime or perceptions of the level of crime. The case studies examined below look specifically at the effectiveness of community policing efforts in reducing youth violence and gun crime in the American cities of Boston, San Diego, and Atlanta.

In Boston, the police sought to combat youth gun violence and deter gang members from engaging in illegal activity through the implementation of the Boston Gun Project's Operation Ceasefire. In early 1995, the Boston Gun Project, made up of a working group of criminal justice agents and representatives from local schools, churches and community services, began to develop a strategy to combat the high rate of homicide amongst Boston's primarily Black youth population (Braga et al., 2001). In the spring of 1996, Operation Ceasefire was put into action. The intervention included two main elements. The first element was a direct law enforcement attack on illicit firearms traffickers who supplied youths with guns. The direct law enforcement approach was supported by a promise to gang members that any form of wrongdoing would be followed by swift and immediate sanctions. This was intended to create a shift in norms amongst youth gangs. The message was distributed via flyers, which were distributed in the target neighbourhood, and by community workers who relayed the message to gang members (Braga et al., 2001). The second element was extensive outreach to religious leaders within African-American inner-city neighbourhoods, where a large majority of the gun violence was taking place. The main aim of this element was to create an "umbrella of legitimacy" that sought to reconcile the interests of the police and the inner-city communities plagued with gun violence. The religious leaders who facilitated the shift in perceptions of the police, known as the Ten Point Coalition, were also active in relaying the zero tolerance approach, while remaining critical of the police.

Analysis of Boston's firearm homicide rate for persons under 25 shows a sharp decline following the launch of the Boston Gun Project in 1996, which continued through 1997 before rising in 1998. However, the rate of youth gun homicides had already begun to decline in 1995, prior to the implementation of the Project, and youth gun homicide rates declined in other Massachusetts cities over this same period. The declines seen in Boston appear to be part of a downward trend in youth gun homicides that was experienced state wide, as opposed to a result of the Boston Gun Project (Fagan, 2002).

In San Diego, police officials adopted the theory and operating principles of community policing, structuring police-citizen interactions in a manner that was intended to strengthen informal control and thus prevent crime. The police focused on prevention efforts, and used arrest only after other methods failed. In the late 1980s, San Diego began an experiment with the community policing philosophy. In 1993, the whole police department was reorganized and the entire force retrained to implement community policing. The approach in San Diego included sharing information with citizens for the analysis of crime problems, building partnerships with community groups to address crime problems, and emphasizing routine, non-confrontational police contacts with citizens to share responsibility for the prevention and control of crime. What sets San Diego apart from other community policing efforts was the role afforded to organized community volunteers. The San Diego Police Department recruited and trained a group of nearly 1,000 citizen volunteers to undertake a broad spectrum of crime prevention and victim assistance services (Fagan, 2002).

Specific efforts to tackle youth violence in San Diego began in 1997 with the assembly of a task force consisting of 200 people, including representatives from the police, courts, schools, and community groups. The task force created juvenile service teams with officers placed in schools to focus on the needs identified by community advisory boards. A gang suppression team also focused on the cities estimated 5,000 gang members, who were believed to be responsible for a large proportion of the youth gun violence. Similarly to the Ten Point Coalition in Chicago, these teams cast a wide net of social control over youth before they became involved in gun violence. As in Boston, the homicide rate in San Diego fell after the implementation of the community policing efforts, but did so in unison with declines in other large cities in the state (Pollard, 1998).

The final community policing effort directed at targeting youth violence is the PACT (Pulling America's Communities Together) project in Atlanta, Georgia, which began in 1995. PACT was a U.S. Department of Justice program model involving a problem-solving approach for reducing juvenile gun violence. PACT was designed to help diverse institutions in communities collaborate on public safety issues. Homicide, gun violence, and juvenile crime were identified as major community concerns in Atlanta. PACT's problem-solving approach led to the development of a coalition of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies and prosecutors, with the Atlanta Police Department being the lead agency. Project participants devised a three-pronged approach: 1) to use a problem-solving approach to plan, implement, refine and evaluate the program; 2) to apply a strategic approach to wider projects that combine the expertise of researchers with the experience of practitioners; 3) to identify and evaluate a mix of strategies to prevent illegal carrying and use of firearms by juveniles (Kellerman et al., 2006). The three-pronged approach was divided into specific objectives such as measuring adults' fear of crime, mapping and tracking geographical patterns of juvenile violence, determining where and why juveniles acquire guns, developing comprehensive intervention to reduce juvenile gun violence, implementing the intervention, monitoring and evaluating the intervention and refining the approach, and evaluating the impact of the refined program. In order to carry out the objective, participants surveyed adults about firearm ownership and fear of juvenile violence, used data on gun violence from a number of sources such as state crime statistics, and conducted focus group sessions and individual interviews with youths. The strategies developed included traffic stops, directed patrol, and federal prosecution of adult gun traffickers.

During the six years after the project began (from 1995 through 2000) the number of homicides in Atlanta decreased by 27 per cent. Before-and-after surveys of adult residents also showed less concern among respondents about the severity of juvenile violence in the city. However, since Atlanta's homicide count began to decrease two years before the intervention began, the decline in homicides could not be attributed directly to PACT. Furthermore, a number of the strategies planned for the program were not implemented as designed and the decrease in homicides in the intervention sites was similar to the pattern state wide over the same period. As can be seen in the above pages, evaluating community policing is no easy task. While some elements of community policing have been shown to be effective in reducing crime, many have not. However, one result of community policing that appears to have some consistency is the positive effect that this policing style has on police-community relations.

Challenges in the Implementation of Community Policing

The ultimate success of community policing is dependent in part on the successful implementation of the concept. Challenges inherent in implementing community policing can be either internal to the police service or external within the community or the community agencies that provide vital support to community policing efforts. The successful transition to community policing depends upon the ability and willingness of police managers and rank and file officers to create an organizational climate that supports continual learning, self-critique, and most importantly, change. Internal opposition to change, issues of trust, power struggles, and informal communications are all factors that can either impede or facilitate the successful adoption of community policing (Giacomazzi et al., 2004). Rank and file officers often feel that community policing equates to social work, or that the philosophy is being pushed upon them by police managers interested in their own personal advancement (Cooke-Scott, 1998). Thus, the successful transition to community policing is also dependent on the redefinition of the police culture. Community policing requires a police culture that recognizes, values and accepts the importance of community participation in neighbourhood problem identification and problem-solving activities. This runs contrary to the traditional police culture under the professional model where citizens provide little more assistance than reporting crimes as victims and witnesses (ibid.). There are structural elements that can facilitate a climate conducive to the successful implementation of community policing. Developing and communicating an organization's mission statement and values, providing training that emphasizes the value of community policing and awareness of problem-solving strategies, and leading by example are all ways in which management can help foster the implementation of community policing.

Challenges to the successful implementation of community policing can also be due to factors outside of the police organization and organizational structure. The role of the community in identifying problems and developing problem-solving strategies in partnership with the police is pivotal to community policing. Community theories indicate that social order is more closely linked to the outcome of informal social processes and less the result of formal social control mechanism such as police activity (Grinc, 1994). It is therefore important to encourage community involvement in crime prevention and problem-solving activities. Without the involvement of the community, many neighbourhood problems would not even come to the attention of the police. In the above section highlighting the effectiveness of specific community involvement initiatives, it was shown that community mobilization was easier to achieve in middle-class neighbourhoods than in disadvantaged areas, where crime is often high. This may be a product of a history of poor police relations in disadvantaged areas that has resulted in a deep-rooted ambivalence towards the police. The approach to community mobilization taken in Chicago and San Diego shows promise for overcoming this obstacle. Police in these cities were able to form close ties with community and religious leaders, such as the Ten Point Coalition, who provided an avenue of contact and an air of legitimacy for the police. The CAPS program in Chicago has been repeatedly praised for its ability to mobilize community members in predominantly Black inner-city neighbourhoods, where both crime and poverty were high (Sherman and Eck, 2002).

Conclusion

Community policing has re-emerged as a dominant policing style in many jurisdictions over the past several decades. In the face of rising crime rates and an increasingly diverse and complex society, the traditional model of policing came to be viewed as an effective approach to fighting crime. In light of this, an approach to policing that placed great emphasis on police-community relations and on the usefulness of engaging the community in problem identification and solving efforts re-emerged under the banner of "community policing." Police officers were increasingly taken out of their patrol cars and placed back on the "beat" to interact with and learn from the communities that they served. Through the implementation of various initiatives, police services actively elicited the participation of the community in their crime fighting efforts, and the role of the patrol officer and structure of police services were modified to reflect this. However, community policing has no one accepted definition; it is a general policing philosophy underpinned by an idealistic notion about the role of the police in society. Thus, a myriad of programs and strategies have been implemented under the banner of community policing with varying success.

While the evaluative studies listed above have not been overly favourable to community policing as an effective means of reducing crime, the value of community policing must be viewed in light of the alternatives. Traditional reactive policing and car patrol is not only ineffective at reducing crime, but also creates barriers between the police and the public. Stops and searches may produce high rates of arrests, but these are often for minor crimes and the overall impact on crime rates is small. Furthermore, over-zealous stop and search practices erode public perceptions of the police, especially in areas where police-community relations have traditionally been poor. Finally, detectives, without the help of the public, are limited in the extent to which they can solve crimes. Community policing, as shown above, can be effectively used to foster relations with the community and as a means of increasing positive attitudes towards the police and perceptions of their legitimacy held amongst the public. This in itself may be enough to reduce or prevent crime, at least amongst those who do not view the police favourably. Regardless of its effectiveness in combatting crime, community policing remains the dominant policing style in many western jurisdictions.

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Deterrence Stratergies[4]

Introduction

In the last century, Canadians have witnessed a definite shift in how the youth justice system responds to youth crime, gradually moving from the more welfare-oriented policies of the Juvenile Delinquents Act (1908–1984) towards the increasingly harsher and more punitive policies of the Young Offenders Act (1984–2003) and the current Youth Criminal Justice Act (2003–present). Most often, the justifications for turning to harsher, more severe punishments lay within the tenets of rational choice and deterrence based theories.

The aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive review of the literature and empirical research regarding the use of more punitive sentencing and general deterrence practices towards youth offenders. While this paper does not encompass all of the literature available, it does offer a relatively comprehensive review of many pertinent studies conducted regarding these topics and the issues pertaining to them.

In the second section, a brief synopsis of deterrence and rational choice theories will be offered. Section three focuses on psychosocial maturity as it relates to juveniles in terms of responsibility, rational decision-making and deterrence in general. Section four addresses issues regarding the transferring of youth offenders into the adult criminal justice system and/or correctional institutions. Section five highlights both specific and general deterrence research, focusing on recidivism rates as well as youths' perceptions, attitudes, and experiences regarding system involvement. In section six, a focus will be placed upon "shock" deterrence methods aimed towards youth, specifically focusing on the use of boot camps and Scared Straight programs. Section seven will offer a brief summation and conclusion regarding the topics discussed in the previous sections

Rational Choice and Deterrence Theories

Originating from classical criminology, rational choice theory posits that decisions are made and actions are taken by individuals in the rational exercise of free will. Specifically, it is suggested that prior to a criminal act being committed, individuals will take into account the probable legal penalties, the potential gains produced by the crime and the likelihood that they will be caught. Additionally, it is posited that their calculation is based on their own experience with criminal punishment as well as their knowledge of legal sanctions and punishments meted out in the past for offences. As such, deterrence theorists maintain that, as a punishment increases in severity, so too should its efficacy in deterring future criminal acts. Additionally, it is further maintained that, in order to effectively deter, punishments must be swift and certain. That is, swift punishments are more likely to be associated with the crime committed while the efficacy of punishments is decreased if offenders do not perceive their implementation to be likely.

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[4] *This chapter was written with the assistance of James Dorion, MA, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

There are two ways in which deterrence is proposed to function. First, there is "specific deterrence," where it is suggested that individuals who commit crimes and are apprehended and appropriately punished will be less likely to commit future crimes. Second, it is proposed that the punishment of those who commit crimes will serve as an example to potential offenders, proactively deterring them from engaging in criminal activities in the first place. This is known as "general deterrence."

Over the years, the empirical evidence supporting the position that stricter laws and harsh punishments are effective ways of deterring youth crime, both generally and specifically, has been at best inconsistent (Baron and Kennedy, 1998; Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Peterson-Badali, Ruck and Koegl, 2001; Teevan, 1976), with negative effects seemingly resulting in some cases (Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Fagan, Kupchick, and Liberman, 2003; Myers, 2001; Singer and McDowell, 1998).

Psychosocial Maturity

One of the primary reasons for the existence of a separate youth justice system is an understanding that youths in general do not possess a level of maturity that allows for them to be treated in the same manner as adults. Moreover, as Zimring and Fagan (2000: 423) point out, "transferring a fourteen-year-old defendant from one court to another does not add to his or her age or maturity." While some early studies have suggested that judicial waivers were most likely to target property offences (Feld, 1989; Hamparian et al., 1982 as cited in Lemmon, Austin, Verrecchia and Fetzer, 2005), more recent studies indicate that there is a trend toward greater violence among juvenile exclusion cases (Myers, 2003b; Snyder et al., 2000). However, contrary to a seemingly widespread belief that youth crime, and specifically violent youth crime, is on the rise, Canada's official crime statistics suggest that its levels have remained relatively stable over the last 20 years (Doob and Cesaroni, 2004). Moreover, while some would suggest that youths who commit certain types of serious and violent crimes need to be dealt with in harsher ways, such as adult-like sentencing, the fact remains that there is no evidence to suggest that committing such crimes are indicative of a youth offender's being more mature than his or her age peers (Zimring and Fagan, 2000).

Despite existing evidence regarding the decreased culpability of youth offenders, it has been suggested that there are three primary reasons why policies relating to youth transfers are not more influenced by the developmental psychology literature (Zimring and Fagan, 2000, as cited in Doob and Cesaroni, 2004). First, it is suggested that even though there are a wide range of developmental justifications for excluding very young children from complete criminal liability, the pressure to transfer children under the age of 14 is relatively nonexistent; that is, they are largely seen as "just being kids." Second, developmental changes are gradual and vary between individuals, making it somewhat difficult to relate a high-variance gradual change to a yes-or-no decision. Third, determining levels of responsibility is fundamentally a moral judgment, and moral judgments are often not informed by empirical evidence. As Doob and Cesaroni (2004) suggest, the transferring of youths into adult criminal courts is seemingly more influenced by politics than by empirical evidence.

Cauffmen and Steinberg (2000) recently examined the influence of three psychosocial factors (responsibility, perspective and temperance) on maturity of judgment and processes of decision-making among an overall sample of 1,015 middle school (grade eight), high school (grades 10 and 12), and college students (under 21 years and over 21 years) in Philadelphia, PA (Cauffmen and Steinberg, 2000). Responsibility scales assessed individuals' feelings of internal control and the ability to make decisions without extreme reliance on others. Two aspects of perspective were assessed. First, the ability to see short- and long-term consequences, and second, how often participants take other people's perspectives into account. Measurements of temperance assessed individuals' tendencies to exhibit impulse control and self-restraint with regard to aggressive behaviours. Study participants completed assessments of their psychosocial maturity regarding the three domains and responded to an array of questions regarding would-be anti-social or risky behaviours (i.e., shoplifting, drug use, joy-riding in a stolen car). Additionally, anti-social/risky-behaviours scenarios were presented as either having definite consequences (i.e., being arrested), no consequences, or unknown consequences.

The results of the study show that individuals differ significantly in their psychosocial maturity, as well as in their anti-social decision-making, and that these variances occur largely as a function of age. Moreover, anti-social decision-making appears to be more strongly influenced by psychosocial maturity than by age, with individuals who exhibit higher levels of responsibility, perspective, and temperance displaying more mature decision-making than those with lower scores, independent of age. Adolescents, on average, scored worse than adults, and even young adults were found to make more socially responsible decisions in comparison with adolescents. The study also reflected that the most important transition point in psychosocial development and mature decision-making is between 16 and 19 years. Together, these findings are relevant to debates regarding legal borders between adolescence and adulthood and, specifically, the reasoning, or lack of it, behind exposing youth to the adult criminal justice system.

Youth Transfers

The primary purpose of judicial waivers and the imposing of adult sentences on youth offenders are to mete out more severe sanctions than are available in the juvenile courts, in the belief that a greater deterrence effect, both specifically and generally, will be achieved. However, evidence regarding the effect of judicial exclusions on recidivism rates is at best inconsistent (Greileich, Trager, and Chishalm, 1982; Lemmon, Austin, Verrecchia and Fetzer, 2005), with the results of a number of studies suggesting that they may in fact contribute to an increase in rates of recidivism among youth offenders (Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Myers, 2001; Singer and McDowell, 1998). Until the recent implementation of the Youth Criminal Justice Act in 2003, Canadian youth 14 years and older were eligible to be transferred out of the youth justice system into the adult courts. While today youth offenders in Canada cannot have their cases transferred into the adult criminal justice system, those convicted of juvenile offences can still be ordered to serve them within an adult correctional institution.

It has been proposed that prior to youth being waived into the adult criminal justice system and/or sentenced to an adult correctional facility, they often do not receive adequate individual assessments to account for the influence of such things as psychosocial maturity as well as socioeconomic and family circumstances—factors that can be helpful in assessing their ability to be held responsible for their actions (Myers, 2003b). Moreover, once these youth enter into adult correctional facilities, they are less likely to receive educational and cognitive-behavioural and/or therapeutic counselling services, and when they do receive them, they are not necessarily developed or administered with adolescents in mind and, thus, are perhaps less effective than those available in juvenile facilities. As well, youth serving time in adult correctional facilities are more likely to experience harsh treatment and abuse and to be subjected to violence from other inmates (Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Myers, 2003a). Moreover, it has been suggested that adult correctional facilities act as training grounds for youth offenders by exposing them to more sophisticated and experienced adult criminals, resulting in the youth being better prepared for future criminality (Myers, 2003a). Almost invariably, youth who have served time in adult facilities will see their future prospects for education, employment and opportunities to productively contribute to society greatly reduced (Myers, 2003a; Paternoster and Iovanni, 1989). These and additional factors may help to explain, as previously mentioned, why some research has found that youth transfers increases rather than decreases the likelihood of future offending.

A recent study conducted by David Myers (2001) examined the effectiveness of a policy targeting violent youth offenders for prosecution in Pennsylvania's adult criminal courts. Comparisons were made between 138 male youth offenders who were transferred to adult criminal court and 419 who were retained in juvenile court. The offenders, who ranged in age from 15 to 18 years, had been arrested for robbery, aggravated assault, or both, and had used a deadly weapon while committing their offences. All court dispositions had occurred in 1994, with the author collecting data in 1998 from face-to-face interviews with judges, public defenders, and probation officials, as well as court records and a juvenile justice research and training centre.

Results of the study found that the transferred offenders were significantly more likely to be re-arrested on a violent felony offence during a pre-dispositional time period than were youths retained in juvenile court. Moreover, the transferred youths were specifically more likely to be convicted of a target offence of robbery or aggravated assault than those released from secure custody before final disposition. Additionally, it was found that in comparison with retained youths, transferred offenders were more likely to be released from secure custody prior to final disposition of their cases, with the estimated probability of release for a waived youth being nearly 20 per cent higher than that for a retained youth. This finding contradicts the deterrence-based motives of youth transfers, as it appears, at least in terms of remaining in secure custody, that the retained youths received the harsher sanctions. Ultimately, the findings suggest that, despite the seemingly more harsh conditions associated with transfers, the affected youths were apparently not more deterred by their experiences in the adult criminal justice system. In fact, the evidence suggests that these experiences may in fact have served to increase the frequency and seriousness of future offending by those youth.

A more recent study conducted by the same author sought to further explore the relationship between judicial waivers and rates of recidivism while simultaneously accounting for the possibility of selection biases (Myers, 2003b). The author highlights the results of studies finding that transferred youth offenders exhibit greater recidivism rates than those retained in juvenile courts might be viewed as limited in that it may be the highest-risk youth; that is, those who are already most likely to recidivate, who are most likely to be selected for transfer into the adult criminal justice system. If such is the case, one might logically expect then to witness greater rates of recidivism among those transferred youth, independent of their experiences with the adult criminal justice system. Feld (1989) found that juveniles waived to adult court were more likely to be older, to be charged with serious offences, to have more severe prior records, to have been previously incarcerated in a juvenile institution, and to have been detained prior to waiver hearings, while other studies have found that minorities are overrepresented among juvenile exclusions (Mears, 2003; Walker, Spohn and Delone, 2004, both as cited in Lemmon, Austin, Verrecchia and Fetzer, 2005).

Data were examined regarding 494 violent male juvenile offenders located in Pennsylvania, between the ages of 15 and 18 years, who were arrested for robbery, aggravated assault, or both. Additionally, in all instances a deadly weapon was involved during the offence. Of the 494 total offenders, 79 were judicially waved to adult criminal court and 415 were retained in juvenile court. The timing, likelihood, and seriousness of their recidivism were analyzed while numerous variables were used to control for any influence they might have on the decision to transfer and on future criminal behaviour. These control variables included age, race (whites versus non-whites), location of processing (rural, urban, or suburban), school status (enrolled/graduated versus not enrolled), family status (living with two parents versus other living arrangements), type of weapon used in the offence (firearm versus other), prior offence history, age of first referral to juvenile court, total number of prior juvenile court referrals, adjudications, and placement in correctional facilities. Finally, to account for the seriousness of prior offending, juveniles who were previously adjudicated delinquent for one of a variety of violent felonies targeted by a recently enacted legislative waiver law in Pennsylvania were accounted for.

The main findings of the study are threefold. First, it was found that the transferred youth were significantly more likely to be re-arrested following final disposition than were their counterparts in juvenile court and that this held true both with and without the inclusion of statistical controls for selection bias. Specifically, results indicate that being waived to adult court more than double the simple odds of a post-dispositional arrest. Second, it was found that the transferred youth were re-arrested significantly more quickly at any point in time following disposition than those retained in youth courts and that they were also more frequent offenders. Additionally, independent of transfer status, conviction and incarceration length were both found to have a significant influence on how quickly youths were re-arrested. That is, youths who were convicted and served longer sentences were more likely to be re-arrested more quickly, regardless of whether they were retained in juvenile court or transferred. Finally, regarding selection biases, it was found that the only factors significantly related to the likelihood of transfer were age, with older youths more likely to be transferred, and prior record, with youths having a more extensive prior record being more likely to be transferred. Surprisingly, weapon type was negatively related to transfer likelihood; that is, youths who used a firearm while committing their offence were less likely to be transferred. The author suggests that this may be related to the inability to have controlled for victim injury, as it may be the case that youths using other weapon types were more likely to have caused injury to someone, a factor which may influence whether a transfer occurs or not.

A larger-scale study that was recently conducted similarly found negative outcomes as being associated with prosecuting and sentencing youth in adult criminal courts (Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003). The study's authors examined data regarding the case outcomes and criminal histories of 2,382 youth, in three New Jersey counties, aged 15 to 16 years, who were charged between 1992 and 1993 in either juvenile or adult criminal courts with felony, assault, and/or burglary.

Similarly to the results of the study conducted by Myers (2003b), it was found that serious adolescent offenders prosecuted in the criminal court were more likely to be re-arrested more quickly and more often for violent, property, and weapons offences and that they were more quickly returned to incarceration. However, it was also found that adolescents retained in youth courts were more likely to be re-arrested specifically for drug offences. The authors contend that categorical exclusion of certain groups of youth offenders based solely on offence and age are ineffective as a specific deterrence in youth crime, suggesting that individual assessments and more judge-centred transfer policies can help to limit the number of youth subjected to criminal court prosecution and to the factors related to serving time in adult correctional facilities that may contribute to negative outcomes.

Youth Transfers and General Deterrence

According to deterrence theory, transferring youth offenders into criminal courts and sentencing them into adult correctional facilities should, ultimately, have a general deterrent effect on juvenile crime rates. That is, potential youth offenders, both those who have not yet engaged in delinquent activities and those who have, should theoretically be deterred from engaging in future delinquent activities from fear that, if caught, they will be subject to harsh adult-like sanctions

An early study conducted by Ruhland, Gold and Heckman (1982) questioned whether severity of punishment has a deterrent effect on juvenile crime by comparing Uniform Crime Report (UCR) arrest and National Survey of Youth (NSY) self-report data for youths between 16 and 17 years of age in jurisdictions where they are either defined as juveniles or adults. From a deterrence standpoint, it is hypothesized that youth defined as adults will have lower arrest rates and lower rates of self-reported offences than will youths defined as juveniles, as there should be a tendency to believe that being under adult rather than juvenile jurisdiction will expose them to more severe penalties. Status was classified according to whether adult status was reached at age 16, 17, or 18 in each of the years 1970 to 1976. The offences committed ranged from property-related (i.e., car theft, burglary) to violent (i.e., aggravated assault, murder).

Initial analyses found that in all seven years, the juveniles, either 16 or 17 years old, were more delinquent than their adult counterparts. Further analyses were then conducted to test for the deterrent effect of adult versus juvenile status by comparing 16-year-old juveniles from states where 16 was the maximum age for juvenile status with 16-year-old "adults" from states where the minimum age for adult status was 16 years, with the same method used regarding 17-year-old youth. Results indicated that the oldest juveniles under the juvenile law tended to appear more often in the juvenile records of their states than did their adult-age counterparts in other states. Specific results showed that for 16-year-old youth, the tendency to appear more often in the juvenile records of their states was reflected only within the processes of the juvenile justice system, but not by the behaviour itself, as measured by the self-report data. In contrast, this tendency was captured both by official juvenile justice system data as well by the youths' self-reports among the 17-year-old youth. Thus, as the authors note, it appears that the deterrent effects of adult status was present to some degree only among the 17-year-old youth while it did not have a deterrent effect regarding 16-year-old youth.

A later published study similarly sought to measure the deterrent effect of a legislative waiver implemented in Idaho in 1981 on violent juvenile crime (Jensen and Metsger, 1994). Specifically, the legislation mandated the automatic waiver for youths aged 14 to 18 years who were accused of murder of any degree, as well as for those accused of attempted murder, robbery, forcible rape, mayhem (i.e., dismemberment or severe disfigurement), and assault or battery with the intent to commit any of the aforementioned offences. The authors employed a multiple time series design by examining agency records during the five-year periods of 1976–1980 (pre-statute) and 1982–1986 (post-statute). Analyses testing for the deterrent effects of the legislative waiver were conducted by comparing arrests for violent juvenile crime in Idaho with those in Montana and Wyoming, both before and after the statute implementation. The states of Montana and Wyoming were chosen as comparisons because, as the authors maintain, they are, first, deemed as being both demographically and economically similar to Idaho, and second, their remand procedures were much like those used in Idaho prior to the statute change in 1981, in that both used judicial waiver to remand youth charged with violent crimes to criminal court.

The results of the study did not provide support for the deterrent effects of the Idaho legislative waiver on rates of violent juvenile crime. Specifically, it was found that the average arrest rate in Idaho during the pre-statute period was 71.1 per 100,000 persons under the age of 18, a rate that significantly increased to 83.9 during the post-statute period, representing an 18 per cent increase. In comparison, Montana showed a change from 31.2 during the pre-statute period to 17.1 during the post-statute period, or a significant decrease of 45 per cent. Similarly, Wyoming exhibited a significant decrease of 14 per cent, with the average arrest rate of persons under 18 years of age for violent crime during the pre-statute period being 30.2 compared with 26.0 in the post-statute period. Based on these results, it appears that the legislative waiver law did not have a deterrent effect on rates of serious violent juvenile crime.

As the authors acknowledge, there are several possible explanations for the failure of the legislative waiver to deter violent juvenile crime in Idaho. First, it may be the case that prosecutors in Idaho were charging some youth offenders accused of serious violent crimes with lesser offences, resulting in their remaining in the juvenile court system. Second, youth simply may not have been aware of the fact that they would be tried in criminal court and possibly sentenced to prison for committing one of the violent offences specified by the statute. In support of this notion, the authors note that media coverage in Idaho regarding the enactment of the legislative waiver was almost non-existent. Third, the authors suggest that the young ages of juvenile defendants may result in a tendency for them to be sentenced less severely, subsequently decreasing any deterrent effect the legislative waiver may have had.

Youth Waivers and Sanction Certainty and Severity

As mentioned, one of the primary goals of judicial exclusion is to mete out presumably more severe sanctions than those available in the youth justice system. Above and beyond the debate over whether these more severe sanctions have a desirable effect on rates of recidivism is the issue of whether this goal is actually being achieved. That is, some evidence suggests that youth transferred into adult courts actually may not be more likely to be incarcerated (Lemmon, Austin, Verrecchia and Fetzer, 2005), and that when they are, they may in fact be serving shorter sentences than those retained in juvenile jurisdictions (Dawson, 1992; Rudman et al., 1986; Fritsch, Caeti and Hemmens, 1996).

Focusing on two dimensions of sentence severity, sentence length and actual time served, Fritsch, Caeti and Hemmens (1996) sought to determine if in fact juveniles waived to adult courts do receive more severe sanctions. The authors note that while previous studies have found that juveniles waived to adult court usually receive longer sentences than are available in juvenile court (Dawson, 1992; Rudman et al., 1986), these results may be misleading, as none of the studies investigated whether longer sentences actually equated to lengthier terms of incarceration.

Data were collected on all youth waived to adult court in Texas between the years 1981 to 1993 and sentenced to prison, resulting in a total sample size of 946. The most common offence was homicide (34.1 per cent) followed by robbery (25.1 per cent) and burglary (13.8 per cent), with the remaining offences ranging from drug-related to larceny. Demographic information, including age of the offenders, was not provided.

The average sentence length for youth waived to adult court and sentenced to prison was 21.9 years, with only 13.1 per cent of these youth receiving sentences of four years or less and almost 35 per cent receiving sentences over 20 years in length. Judging by these sentences, the authors do acknowledge, as other studies have found, that transferred youths do typically receive harsher sentences than those retained in the juvenile courts. However, when actual time served was taken into consideration, a different picture emerged. It was found that transferred youth rarely served more lengthy sentences than are available in juvenile court, serving an average of only 27 per cent of their sentences (i.e., less than six years of the average 21.9 year sentence).

A study conducted more recently investigated the effect that legal and extralegal factors might have on the statutory exclusions of youth offenders and, in doing so, similarly tested for the presence of two primary elements related to deterrence theory—certainty and severity of punishment (Lemmon, Austin, Verrecchia and Fetzer, 2005). Specifically, it was assessed whether juveniles processed in the adult court system receive greater certainty and severity of punishment compared with those processed in the juvenile system. The study looked at looked at 701 cases from four different U.S. states: Arizona, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Utah. Of the 701 cases, 114 were dismissed at the preliminary hearing, leaving 198 cases being returned to juvenile court and 389 remaining in the adult judicial system. The average age of the youths at the time of their arrest was slightly over 16 years and the vast majority of the charged crimes were aggravated assault (50 per cent) or robbery (45 per cent), while approximately 96 per cent of the youth had used a weapon while committing the offence. Demographic data regarding the cases included race, gender, age and county where the incident occurred. Legal data were arranged into four categories: offence information, criminal court processing information, juvenile court processing information and juvenile court history. A variety of variables were used to examine certainty and severity of punishments in both court types, including whether cases were dismissed, whether a youth was found guilty and, if so, whether the youth was sentenced to incarceration.

Regarding certainty of punishment, it was found that there were no significant differences between the two groups of offenders. Specifically, whether youth were dealt with in the juvenile or adult courts made no difference on the likelihood that they would be convicted. In fact, it was found that the conviction rate was slightly higher in juvenile court (76 per cent) than in adult court (72 per cent), but this difference was not statistically significant.

Regarding severity of punishment, it was found that youth found guilty in adult court were significantly more likely to be incarcerated (87 per cent) than those found guilty in juvenile court (55 per cent). However, further analyses found that legal factors such as juvenile court history, seriousness of offence, and weapon were significantly related to incarceration in adult court.

When considered together, the results of these two studies suggest that the deterrence-based principles of punishment certainty and severity are not necessarily always being met when transferring youth into the criminal justice system. Seemingly, in some cases youth are not more likely to receive sentences than if they were to remain in the juvenile courts and the sentences they do receive are often not necessarily good indicators of the actual time they will serve. If such goals are not being met, we must then ask ourselves why we should continue to transfer youth offenders into adult courts and correctional institutions. Ultimately, these studies are limited in that they can only speak to punishment certainty and severity of transferred youths in select U.S. states during specific time periods. However, much of what occurs in the United States regarding youth justice is reflected within the Canadian context and so such studies are useful in informing Canadian policy-makers, stakeholders, and the public in general. Specifically, it would of interest to determine to what extent Canadian youth sentenced to adult correctional institutions are serving their sentences, as well as how this might vary according by province.

In sum, it seems that the deterrent effects of youth transfers are unclear, with negative effects being seen in a number of instances. Specifically, the results of some studies demonstrate that youth transferred into the adult criminal justice system may be at a higher risk to recidivate (Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Myers, 2001, 2003b), and to do so more quickly than retained youth (Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Myers, 2003b). Moreover, as the results of the studies conducted by Ruhland, Gold and Heckman (1982) and Jensen and Metsger (1994) suggest, policies pertaining to judicial waivers of youth offenders and adult-like sentencing do not appear to have a clear general effect on juvenile crime rates. As well, and in line with principles of developmental psychology, it appears that the deterrent effects of harsher, more adult-like sanctions are variant according to age (Cauffmen and Steinberg, 2000; Ruhland, Gold and Heckman, 1982), suggesting the need for individual assessments and judicial discretion regarding youth waivers. Finally, there is a reasonable likelihood that, above and beyond debates regarding the efficaciousness of youth waiver policies, in a certain number of cases the deterrent goals of punishment certainty and severity are not necessarily being met, leaving us to question the utility of continuing to employ such practices.

General Research on Youth Offending and Deterrence

Compared with other Western countries, including the United States, Canada tends to sentence a relatively high number of youth to custody, even though official statistics show that the majority of youth offending in Canada comes in the form of minor, typically property-related offences (Doob and Cesaroni, 2004). Perhaps not entirely unrelated then is the fact that Canada also tends to sentence a relatively high number of youth to custody for seemingly minor offences, despite evidence suggesting that most of the youths committing them likely are adolescence-limited offenders and will desist naturally (Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Moffitt, 1993; Phillips and Votey Jr., 1987). Over the years, the empirical evidence supporting the position that stricter laws and harsh punishments are effective ways of deterring crime, both generally and specifically, has been at best inconsistent (Baron and Kennedy, 1998; Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Peterson-Badali, Ruck and Koegl, 2001; Teevan, 1976), with negative effects being seen in a number of studies (Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Myers, 2001, 2003b; Pogarsky, Kim and Paternoster, 2005).

Perceptions of Punishment Certainty and Severity

According to deterrence theorists, in order for laws and sanctions to act as effective deterrents, offenders and would-be offenders must first perceive that there is a reasonable likelihood of being caught committing a crime, and second, they must perceive that ensuing punishments will both be certain and severe enough to outweigh the potential proceeds garnered from the crime. An early study conducted in Canada by James Teevan (1976) examined the deterrent effects of punishment by collecting self-report data regarding punishment perceptions and personal history information regarding various forms of deviance for a sample of youth who frequented drop-in centres in London, Ontario, as well from residents in a boys' and girls' treatment centre. Specifically, data regarding the youths' fear of punishment as well as the youths' perceptions of punishment certainty and severity were collected in order to establish whether deviants commit crimes regardless of fear or perceived certainty of punishment. All of the youths were asked questions regarding the likelihood of being caught for committing specific offences and what the typical punishments for the offences were. Youths who had committed deviant acts were asked to indicate in percentages what they thought the chances were of being caught prior to committing the act. As well, these youths were asked how severe they perceived the likely penalty for the act to be ("nothing at all" to "very bad"). Finally, all of the youth were asked to rank fear of punishment as being either first, second, or third in importance as a reason for not engaging in deviant acts.

The results of the study demonstrated that perceived levels of punishment certainty are only weakly related to certain types of deviance, while the perceived level of punishment severity is even more weakly related to deviance levels than is punishment certainty. As such, the author concludes that youths who perceive a higher severity of punishment do not necessarily refrain from committing deviant acts and those who do attend to punishment severity do not necessarily engage in less deviance as a function of their also perceiving a level of punishment certainty.

A more recent Canadian study focused on youth offenders' perceptions of the sentences that they had received in order to investigate the relationship between youth justice system involvement and perceptions of specific and general deterrence (Peterson-Badali, Ruck and Koegl, 2001). The authors interviewed 53 male youth offenders in Toronto, Ontario, between the ages of 13 and 17 years, who were convicted of offences ranging from minor thefts to armed robbery Additionally, the study explored whether specific offender (age, race, and criminal history), offence (type of offence), and disposition characteristics (sentence length and type) were influential in predicting the youths' perceptions of the specific and general deterrent value of their sentences.

The results of the study are mixed, with no clear evidence to support a deterrence approach for harsh sentencing. It was found that youths vary in how they perceive their sentences as deterrents and that offender, offence, and disposition characteristics were not able to explain this variance. Regarding specific deterrence, 58 per cent of the youth indicated that their sentence would deter them from committing future criminal acts, while 42 per cent said that their sentence would have no bearing whatsoever on whether they participated in criminal activities in the future. As a note, 40 per cent of the youth who did believe that their sentences would deter them from reoffending indicated that they had undergone personal changes as a result of experiences with counselling and anger management, as well as cognitive and behavioural focused sessions. In terms of general deterrence, 66 per cent of youth stated that their sentences would not deter their friends from committing the same offence. Moreover, while more than half of the youth believed that some form of criminal sanction would occur should they be caught committing their offences, more experienced repeat offenders indicated incarceration as a likely consequence. However, all but three of the youth indicated that they did not think they would be caught when they committed their offence. As the authors highlight, it seems that, ultimately, youths' views regarding their sentences reflect both rehabilitative and harsher deterrent approaches. While there are some limitations to the study regarding issues of using retrospective self-report data as well as a having a relatively small sample size, the results do suggest that the role that disposition experiences play is one which warrants further empirical study.

The findings of the study conducted by Peterson-Badali, Ruck and Koegl (2001) suggest that multiple rather than singular approaches are perhaps the most effective way to respond to youth crime. Accordingly, a very recent Canadian study focused specifically on how five different sentencing models might influence serious and violent young offenders' decisions to engage in future delinquent acts (Corrado, Cohemn, Glackman and Odgers, 2005). The first sentencing model was "deterrence," understood as youths' fear of certain and severe punishment. Next is "fairness," defined as the degree to which youths perceive their sentences to be fair proportional to their understanding of the seriousness, criminality and culpability of their behaviour. The third sentencing model tested was "chronic offender lifestyle," which speaks of the degree to which a youth offender has adopted offending as a lifestyle choice, as there is evidence that youth who do so do not employ the same sort of cognitive cost-benefit processes that other offenders might engage in to some degree (Baron and Kennedy, 1998). The fourth sentencing model is "special needs," which suggests that youth who perceive that their subjective emotional and personal needs are being met are less likely to recidivate. The final sentencing model included is "procedural rights"; that is, the degree to which young offenders feel that their procedural rights have been protected.

The study's sample consisted of 400 youth who were serving custodial sentences at one of four detention centres located in Vancouver, British Columbia, between April 1998 and December 1999. Of these 400 youth, 87 per cent had had at least one previous disposition. The sample was predominantly male (81 per cent) with an average age of 16 years. At the time of their offence, 47 per cent of the youth lived at home with one or more of their biological parents and 53 per cent were enrolled in school. Almost all of the youth reported relatively frequent drug and alcohol use (93 per cent), including cocaine (56 per cent), heroin (35 per cent), and crack cocaine (44 per cent). Additionally, 72 per cent of the youth reported having a family member with an alcohol problem and 60 per cent indicated the same regarding drugs. Finally, 70 per cent of the youth reported having a family member with a criminal record.

The authors report that the average youth in the sample had already spent 33 months on probation, 72 days in closed custody, and 47 days in open custody. Regarding offence profiles, the authors note that over 66 per cent of the youth were either currently serving a sentence for a violent offence or had previously been convicted for one.

The authors note that the 400 youth represent a 93 per cent response rate allowing for them to interview youths at all stages of the incarceration process, ranging from those who had just been adjudicated to those who were in the final stages of their sentences. Individual interviews ranged in length between 2 to 2-1/2 hours and were semi-structured in nature, assessing the youths' attitudes, values, and experiences regarding a wide range of issues, including those pertaining to the aforementioned sentencing models as well as to a multitude of other variables (i.e., school, family, criminal history, social bonding, peers, restorative justice issues). Finally, the authors state that each youth's individual file was coded in order to account for a wide range of information, including socio-demographic and mental health issues.

The results of the study indicate that no one sentencing model is primarily attended to by youth offenders regarding their decision to recidivate, but rather a variety of sentencing models are attended to. However, it was also found that a large portion of the young offenders in the sample did not attend to any of the models. Regarding deterrence, it was found that perceptions and attitudes regarding punishment severity were related to youths' intentions to recidivate. However, the authors do acknowledge that because the majority of the youths who comprised the study's sample were being housed in a maximum security facility, the construct of punishment severity was likely more salient. It was also found that the chronic offending lifestyle sentencing model was significantly related to intention to recidivate, indicating that situational and lifestyle factors are important things to consider in responding to youth crime. Fairness, procedural rights, and special needs factors also appear to play a role in young offenders' decisions to recidivate; however, they do not do so to the degree that deterrence and lifestyle factors do. Ultimately though, the study found that more than half the youth in the sample did not attend to any of the sentence models in terms of their reports regarding engaging in future criminality.

Two recent and larger-scale studies using data from the U.S. National Youth Survey, a longitudinal study of delinquency, substance abuse, and other problem behaviours, similarly investigated youths' perceptions of punishment certainty and severity, also showed somewhat mixed results. The first study measured perceptions of the U.S. criminal justice system among 4,621 male youths between 12 and 16 years of age (Lochner, 2003). The author found that young males who engage in crime without being arrested are less likely to believe that they will be arrested while committing future criminal acts in comparison with those who engage in crime and are arrested. Additionally, it was determined that youths with a lower perceived probability of arrest are more likely to engage in future criminal activities. In sum, and seemingly consistent with deterrence theory, following an arrest, youth were less likely to commit crime and more likely to increase their perception of the likelihood of arrest should they engage in future crime. However, it has been posited that the findings of this study are perhaps overstated in terms of the degree to which youth offenders employ a "rational choice" approach to offending, in that only 25 per cent of the tests measuring whether youth increased their perception of punishment certainty in response to being arrested reached statistical significance (Pogarsky, Kim and Paternoster, 2005).

The second study utilized similar NYS data, consisting of 1,247 youth between the ages of 11 and 17 years, and similarly investigated how perceptions of punishment certainty are related to offending experiences, with seemingly contrasting results (Pogarsky, Kim and Paternoster, 2005). First, in contrast with the findings of the study published by Lochner (2003), it was found that arrests had no effect on perceptions of punishment certainty; however, more experienced offenders were more likely to display decreased perceptions of both arrest and sanction probability. Second, peer offending corresponded with reductions in perceived certainty of punishment for stealing, but not for attacking, suggesting that crime decision-making processes may differ by crime type. Third, prior offending experience did not decrease the effects of offending experiences on risk perceptions, in some cases even enhancing them. Finally, it was found that "moral inhibition"; that is, perceptions of how wrong it is to commit certain deviant acts, reduced the degree to which offending experiences affected sanction risk perceptions. However, it was deemed that *stronger* moral inhibition levels were required to decrease the influence of violent offending experiences on perceived punishment certainty. These results suggest that even if youth offenders do engage in rational decision-making prior to committing offences, a position that is only weakly supported, they perhaps do so differentially as a function of crime-type among other things. Moreover, sanctions that include programs aimed at increasing moral inhibition may be more effective at decreasing rates of recidivism for a variety of youth offenders.

Lifestyle and Economic Factors

It has been put forth that the majority of serious and violent youth crime is committed by a relatively small number of "high-risk" offenders (Baron and Kennedy, 1995; Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Phillips and Votey Jr., 1987). Moreover, it has been suggested that many of these chronic offenders come from the street youth population and that they are perhaps less likely to fear formal punishments in comparison with other youth offenders (Baron, 1995). As such, studies focusing on better understanding how specific groups of high-risk offenders perceive threats of formal punishment can perhaps be useful in more effectively decreasing rates of recidivism among these high-risk populations.

Baron and Kennedy (1998) examined how the effects of the threat of formal punishment on the criminal behaviour of homeless male street youth might be influenced by their living conditions and other qualities of their lifestyle such as poverty, homelessness, substance abuse, missing normative constraints, and association with criminal peers. The authors conducted interviews with 125 male street youth under the age of 24 in Edmonton, Alberta, asking them how often in the past year they had committed serious property crimes (i.e., breaking into a car/house) and/or a serious assault (i.e., attack with a weapon, causing injuries likely needing medical attention). All of the youth in the sample had participated in various criminal activities in the past year, with some being more heavily involved than others. To measure punishment certainty, respondents were asked how likely it was they would be caught for specific crimes, and in order to assess punishment severity perceptions, they were asked the degree to which punishments for specific crimes would cause problems within their lives.

The study found that, generally, fear of punishments was diminished by elevated levels of poverty, drug use, association with criminal peers, and missing normative constraints. Results further showed that while many street youths fear legal sanctions to some degree, more serious offenders do not. Additionally, perceptions of the impact of punishments and the likelihood of future offending differed by offender and crime type. Specifically, those who thought it reasonably likely they might be caught for property crime, and those who indicated that the ensuing punishments would cause a problem in their lives, were less likely to commit these crimes. In contrast, street youths' perception of how likely it was that they might be caught committing a serious assault had no bearing on whether they had engaged or would engage in serious violent behaviour. Moreover, for these serious violent offenders, perceptions of the impact of punishments were not related to their own level of violence. As the authors note, those street youth engaging in serious violent crimes do not appear to engage in any form of rational decision-making prior to committing such crimes, but rather they are swayed by impulse and emotion. Furthermore, it is suggested that the best way to increase threats of punishment for these high-risk youth may be to provide various forms of economic resources, drug rehabilitation, and integration into conventional peer groups, and that simply imposing harsher penalties will only "clog up" the penal institutions while doing very little, if anything, to affect actual crime rates (Baron and Kennedy, 1998).

While the preceding study directed its focus towards how lifestyle factors, such as poverty, might affect crime involvement among a high-risk sample of street youth, a study conducted much earlier study similarly found that economic opportunities similarly played a role in whether a large and nationally representative sample of youths engaged in criminal activity (Phillips and Votey Jr., 1987). The study utilized data collected by the previously described U.S. National Youth Survey (NYS) regarding 6,398 male and 6,288 female youth between the ages of 14 and 24 years of age. Data examined for the purposes of the study included comprehensive information regarding educational and employment experience, family situation, sources of earned and supplemental income, involvement with property, personal, and drug crimes, and contacts with police, courts, and correctional institutions. The study's authors sought to investigate if a rational process of choice may be influenced by both deterrence and economic opportunities, perhaps ultimately leading to three sub-groups regarding youth offenders: innocents (a large group who never engage in deviant activities), desisters (those youth who engage in deviant activities but eventually cease to do so), and persisters (a small group of recidivists who are responsible for much of the serious youth crime).

The results of the study were mixed, in that there was some support for deterrence and rational choice models, but also in that economic opportunities provided a mediating effect. Specifically, based on the youths' responses regarding thefts, reported income from crime, and number of police stops, it was generally found that the experience of a first and sometimes second apprehension tends to reduce future criminal behaviour. However, it was further determined that the presence of legitimate economic opportunities also tend to decrease the likelihood of engaging in criminal activity. While the results of the study showed that apprehension and the threat of punishment did play a limited role in deterring some forms of criminal behaviour, it was further found that the availability of alternative, legitimate sources of income was also related to a decrease in criminal activity.

System Involvement, Correctional Experiences and Deterrence

There have been a number of empirical studies conducted over the years assessing the impacts that experiences within correctional environments have on youth offenders and the likelihood of their engaging in future criminal activity. Generally, there has been either little or, at best, mixed empirical evidence to support the notion that longer and/or harsher sentences are efficacious in deterring youth crime (Abrams, 2006; Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Greilich, Trager and Chishalm, 1982; Schneider, 1990).

For instance, a relatively early study conducted by Greilich, Trager and Chishalm (1982) focused on the effectiveness of correctional placements as a deterrent of future criminality among youth in Massachusetts who had been convicted for committing various serious violent offences, including murder, rape, arson, and assault and battery. The results of the study indicate that while youth offenders do respond differentially to environments according to restrictiveness, this effect was greatly influenced by the number of prior offences a youth had committed.

In partial support of deterrence models, it was found that first-time offenders responded more positively to restrictive settings as compared with those who had multiple prior offences, with those placed into secure settings exhibiting the greatest decreases in subsequent offending rates. However, in contrast to the principles of deterrence, youth who had multiple prior offences were more responsive to a less restrictive setting. The authors posit that for those youth who had no prior experience with correctional sanctions, a sort of "shock" effect of incarceration was produced, which served to deter them from engaging in future delinquency. In contrast, they suggest that youth who had prior experience with total incapacitation were likely less shocked and intimidated. Just as importantly, it was found that the length of stay was not related to reducing the likelihood of whether the youth did or did not engage in future violent offending; that is, shorter sentences were just as effective as longer ones.

A more recently conducted study similarly sought to examine how male youth offenders experience the treatment or deterrence aspects of institutional confinement (Abrams, 2006). Ethnographic data was collected from 19 male youth offenders ranging in age from 14 to 18 years who were placed in one of two residential correctional facilities located in Minnesota. The first facility, Wildwood House, adopted a blended rehabilitation approach and dealt with youth who had committed relatively minor and non-violent offences, housing them for a period of four to six months as well as including a three-month aftercare program. Treatments included individual, group, and family counselling, cognitive-behavioural therapy, and substance abuse treatment. While the second facility, Cottage Grove, did incorporate some treatment components, it used a harsher, more restrictive approach and dealt with violent and repeat offenders serving minimum nine-month sentences. In comparison with Wildwood House, Cottage Grove was extremely strict and had a lengthy and detailed set of rules with a clear set of punishments for infractions. Additionally, Cottage Grove is a highly self-contained facility, resulting in youth never leaving the premises during their confinement.

Data was collected through three primary techniques. First, participant observations offered a sense of the how the youth were treated, as well as specifics regarding the environment, staff and youth interactions, and how youth responded to treatment. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted to assess the youths' experiences and perceptions of their confinement and treatment. Finally, the author reviewed facility records in order to gain a better idea of program goals and the case histories of the youth.

Results of the study found that, first, many of the youth did not necessarily understand the purposes of their treatment and group activities, feeling that staff did not adequately explain treatment meanings and relevance to their individual situations. However, the author notes that the less-strict and family-focused program at Wildwood did appear to offer more room for positive relationships with adults. Second, it was found that secure confinement did not appear to have a deterrent effect, and that this was especially true for youth who were used to leading chaotic lifestyles and/or were accustomed to institutional confinement. As has been noted in previous research (Baron, 1998), for youth coming from chaotic lifestyles, confinement may simply hold little shock value and, in some cases it may be seen as a welcome break from the chaos that they deal with on the streets. While this study is limited, in that the two facilities included housed two different populations of offenders in terms of offences committed, it does still offer some insights into how youth offenders in general perceive treatment and secure confinement.

A longitudinal study using data collected through the Iowa Youth and Families Project (IYFP) was recently conducted to assess how criminal justice system involvement might affect the likelihood that youth will continue to engage in deviant behaviour (Johnson, Simon and Conger, 2004). Seven waves of data across the second decade of life from early (junior high) to late adolescence (high school) and into adulthood were examined regarding 153 male youth who had all had early criminal justice system contact. In order to tap into family processes, individual family member characteristics, and socio-economic circumstances of the parents and a sibling within four years of the age of the youth (an inclusion criterion), all provided information for the study. All of the families were white and had an average size of five members, with the average income of the families being just under $30,000US per year. Data collected by the IYFP included information regarding criminal behaviour, deviant peer association, and criminal justice system involvement from early adolescence to adulthood.

The main results of the study are twofold. First, continuity in offending across waves was revealed, with partial continuity regarding deviant peer association. Specifically, deviant peer association was found to be related at grade 10 and early adulthood, effects that were not seen during the youngest adolescent years. The authors note too that prior deviant peer association was not found to be related to later deviant peer association until after justice system involvement in Grades 8 and 9, which might suggest that formal sanction played a role in the forging of deviant relationships. Additionally, strong correlations between deviant peer association and crime were found at grade seven, grade 10, and three years after high school.

Most importantly, it was found that early criminal justice system involvement was positively and significantly related to future delinquent behaviour as well as to deviant peer association. As such, a rational choice/deterrent argument was not supported, as prior system involvement was not found to be inversely related to later criminal behaviour. Delinquency during grade seven was positively related to system involvement during grades eight and nine, and delinquency during grade 10 was positively related to system involvement during grade 12 and the first year after high school. Most notably, system involvement during Grades 8 and 9 was positively related to delinquency during grade 10, and the same relationship was found between grade 12 and the first year after high school.

In sum, in contrast with theories of deterrence, there is evidence to suggest that youths who perceive or experience higher severity of punishment are not necessarily deterred from committing deviant acts (Abrams, 2006; Greilich, Trager and Chishalm, 1982; Johnson, Simon and Conger, 2004; Teevan,1976). Additionally, it seems that fear of punishment is diminished with a variety of lifestyle factors, including poverty, elevated drug and alcohol use, and missing normative constraints (Baron, 1998). Moreover, deviant peer association appears to quite often be influential on later delinquent behaviour (Baron, 1998; Johnson, Simons and Conger, 2004). System involvement itself may in fact contribute to "labelling" effects, which can result in reducing opportunities for youth offenders to access legitimate and productive members of society. Positive effects may be most likely achieved by focusing on individual and family counselling, drug and alcohol interventions, anger management, and cognitive-behavioural sessions aimed at increasing self-esteem, moral inhibition, and feelings of responsibility (Abrams, 2006; Pogarsky, Kim and Paternoster, 2005; Teevan, 1976). Finally, there does not appear to be simply one overarching approach that is most effective in responding to youth crime, but rather, multiple and blended approaches including both rehabilitative and deterrent goals are perhaps most likely to achieve positive results (Corrado, Cohemn, Glackman and Odgers, 2005).

"Shock" Approaches: Scared Straight and Boot Camps

Advocates of Scared Straight and similar types of "shock" programs believe that by exposing existing and potential youth offenders to realistic consequences of crime through visits to correctional facilities and interactions with prisoners the likelihood that they will engage in future criminal activities can be greatly decreased. However, while these programs have enjoyed a high level of support throughout the years, both from policy-makers and the general public, there is consistent empirical evidence demonstrating that they are not effective in achieving their intended goals of reducing youth crime and that, in fact, they might actually serve to increase the likelihood that youth will engage in future criminal activities (Cook and Spirrison, 1992; Finckenauer, 1982; Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Buehler, 2003; Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Finckenauer, 2000). Thus, in most cases, doing nothing at all would have better than exposing youth to these programs. Accordingly, the popularity and longevity of these programs has been suggested to be due to their basic "get-tough" premise, the fact that they fit well with common notions of how to prevent and reduce crime, their low cost, and the idea that they are a way for incarcerated offenders to effectively contribute to society, rather than to the outcomes they produce (Petrosino, Petrosino-Turpin and Beuhler, 2003).

In 1976 the first Scared Straight program began in New Jersey's Rahway State Prison and subsequently gained widespread attention through a nationally televised documentary, which aired in 1979 and was awarded the Oscar for Best Documentary Feature of the Year. The purpose of the program was to literally scare youth away from delinquency by bringing them into the prison "where menacing inmates (serving life sentences) subjected them to threats, intimidation, emotional shock, and verbal bullying" (Greenwood, 2006: 101). The film proclaimed that sixteen of seventeen delinquents who had participated in the program had remained "crime free" during a three-month follow-up period, equating this to a 94 per cent success rate (Finckenauer, 1982). Subsequently, the Scared Straight programs very quickly caught on and have since been replicated both domestically and internationally. However, what the documentary did not highlight was that the youths involved in the program were not necessarily at a high risk for delinquency in the first place, with seven of the youth not having any prior delinquency records (Greenwood, 2006).

A recently conducted meta-analysis examined the effects of nine Scared Straight-like programs implemented in the United States between the years 1967 and 1992 in order to test for possible deterrent effects (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Buehler, 2003). Criteria for a study being included in the analyses included the presence of a no-treatment control group as well as at least one outcome measure of "post-visit" behaviour, components that many assessments regarding these programs have failed to include. The follow-up periods across the studies were diverse, including measurements at three, six, nine, 12, and 24 months. The average age of the participants in each study ranged from 15 to 17 years and most of the youth had already come into contact with the juvenile justice system. The vast majority of the youth involved were male, with only one study including female participants. Additionally, the authors posit that the samples were racially diverse, with percentages of youth who were white ranging from 36 to 84 per cent. In total, the meta-analysis accounts for 946 juveniles and young adults.

The results of the meta-analysis indicate that Scared Straight and other "juvenile awareness" programs are not effective in deterring youth from engaging in future criminality. In fact, it was found that, in most cases, the programs tended to contribute to negative outcomes, with youth exposed to them being more likely to recidivate, and that this pattern generally held, to varying degrees, across the span of follow-up times. For example, one study conducted in Michigan found that 43 per cent of the youths who participated in the Scared Straight program recidivated, compared with only 17 per cent in the control group (Michigan Department of Corrections, 1967, as cited in Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Buehler, 2003). The only study that did report positive results found that, at six months, the control group had less new court intakes (39 per cent) compared with the Scared Straight group (41 per cent). However, the reverse was seen by nine and 12 months (Orchowsky and Taylor, 1981, as cited in Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Buehler, 2003).

Farrington and Welsh (2005) also conducted a review of randomized experiments, assessing two Scared Straight programs. The first program was conducted in 1983 and included 108 male youth offenders between the ages of 14 and 18 years (Lewis, 1983, as cited in Farrington and Welsh, 2005). The second program was conducted in 1992 and included 176 male youth offenders with an average age of 15 years (Cook and Spirrison, 1992). Both studies included a comparison control group.

The results of the analysis found that at 12-month follow-up periods, the youth exposed to the Scared Straight programs were more likely to be arrested than their control group counterparts. For instance, in the study conducted by Lewis (1983), over 80 per cent of the Scared Straight youth had been arrested at the one-year period, compared with 67 per cent of the control group youth.

In sum, there is consistent empirical evidence to suggest that Scared Straight and similar "juvenile awareness" programs have no deterrent effects and in many cases may contribute to increasing the likelihood that youth will engage in future criminal activities (Cook and Spirrison, 1992; Finckenauer, 1982; Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Buehler, 2003; Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Finckenauer, 2000). However, despite these widespread and consistent findings, such programs are still used, largely because of their "common sense" approaches and low administrative costs.

Boot Camps

Correctional boot camps, a form of "shock" incarceration, were first used in the United States during the early 1980s with adult offender populations. Today, however, boot camp models can be found in a number of countries, including Canada, as well as in both adult and juvenile settings. Boot camps differ from traditional correctional facilities in that they are based on military models and are typically reserved for use among non-serious and youthful offenders, with sentence lengths being relatively short in length (Greenwood, 2006). That they are typically aimed at such offender populations may not necessarily be commonsensical considering that, as previously highlighted, many young offenders who commit relatively minor offences are likely to "age out" of their delinquent behaviours naturally (Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Moffitt 1993).

While boot camps dealing with adult and juvenile offenders do typically differ somewhat in quality, with juvenile camps placing less emphasis on hard labour and often incorporating therapeutic and educational components, they do share the core elements that advocates see as being integral to their efficacy as a deterrent to future offending (Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001). All boot camps typically incorporate rigorous daily schedules focused upon physical training, drill and ceremony, arising early in the mornings, resulting in participants having virtually no unstructured free time during the day. Correctional officers within the camps typically have military titles by which inmates are to address them, and both inmates and correctional staff inmates usually don military-like uniforms. When inmates break rules or misbehave, the punishments are, in alignment with theories of deterrence, swift and certain, and most often physical in nature. Most boot camps also incorporate elaborate graduation ceremonies in which family members and other contacts from the participants' outside environments are invited to attend. Additionally, some boot camp models do also include aftercare or re-entry components to aid with reintegration into the community.

In terms of their effects on rates of recidivism, a great deal of the empirical assessment has largely found no difference between boot camps and traditional correctional approaches (Bottcher and Ezell, 2005; Kempinen and Kurlychek, 2003; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001), and, in some cases, negative effects have been seen, with boot camp participants being more likely to commit future offences (Farrington and Welsh, 2005; Wright and Mays, 1998). However, as mentioned, some boot camp programs have also incorporated aftercare or re-entry programs aimed at helping participants successfully make the transition back into society, a component that has achieved some seemingly positive effects (Kurlychek and Kempinen, 2006; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001). As with the Scared Straight programs, the popularity and widespread use of boot camps is suggested to be more related to their "common sense" approach and relatively low operating costs rather than to the effects they achieve (Cullen, Blevins, Trager and Gendreau, 2005). As a note, it has been asserted that a great deal of the evaluative research regarding boot camps is limited, in that there are often scant comparative data as well as program implementation issues (Botcher and Ezell, 2005).

A recent study conducted by Bottcher and Ezell (2005) used an experimental design to examine the California Youth Authority's (CYA) juvenile boot camp and intensive parole program, LEAD (an acronym alluding to expected participant outcomes—leadership, esteem, ability, and discipline). Two LEAD sites were examined, both incorporating the typical rigorous components described previously. In addition, both sites included group counselling sessions and substance abuse programs. The study utilized comparison group data generated by CYA researchers regarding youth assigned to traditional institutions for the impact evaluation of the LEAD program. Long-term official follow-up arrest data, excluding parole violations, was examined for both the LEAD and control groups for an average time period of 7.5 years. As a note, youths who dropped out of the LEAD program before completion (slightly over 25 per cent) were included in the study's analyses. The study's total sample size consisted of 632 youth offenders, with 348 being in the LEAD group and 284 in the control group. All of the youths were male, with the average age being 17.5 years, and both groups were posited as being racially diverse, made up primarily of white, Latino, and Black youth. Initial commitment offences ranged from drug and minor offences to assaults, with the majority (70 per cent) being property-related. Finally, the majority of youth in both the control (83 per cent) and LEAD (83.4 per cent) groups were first-time offenders.

The main findings of the study showed that the LEAD boot camp program had no significant effect on recidivism rates in comparison with more traditional correctional settings. Youth in both groups displayed similar levels in terms of average time to first arrest as well as overall arrest rates during the first year and all available years following release to parole (Bottcher and Ezell, 2005).

A relatively recent and comprehensive meta-analysis examining 29 juvenile and young adult boot camp assessment studies was conducted in order to determine what effects, if any, boot camps might have on rates of recidivism (Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001). Ultimately, the meta-analysis tested for recidivism effects across 44 boot camp versus comparison group samples. As was the case in the previous study, technical parole violations were excluded from extracted measures of recidivism, offering a more conservative testing for effects on rates of recidivism. The authors' criteria for including a study in the analyses included 1) a need for the program to incorporate a militaristic environment; 2) the presence of a comparison control group either receiving community supervision or serving time in a more traditional correctional facility; 3) inclusion of participants who were convicted or adjudicated; and 4) the inclusion of post-program measures of criminal activity, such as arrest or conviction.

While results of the meta-analysis were mixed, the authors ultimately determined that there were no overall significant differences between boot camp participants and comparison samples (Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001). Specifically, 12 of the 29 studies deemed that there were no significant differences between offenders exposed to boot camps versus those experiencing more traditional forms of sanctions. However, in eight of the 29 studies, it was found that individuals in comparison groups actually displayed significantly lower rates of recidivism, suggesting that, at least in these cases, boot camps may have increased the likelihood of future offending. In contrast though, nine of the 29 studies found that those individuals involved in boot camp programs did exhibit significantly lower rates of recidivism. Finally, it was noted that "the only program characteristic exhibiting a strong effectiveness of the boot camp programs was the presence of an aftercare treatment component for the adult programs" (Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2005: 135). The authors suggest that such components may therefore be useful in reducing recidivism rates among adult offender populations.

Ultimately, the validity and generalizability of any meta-analytic findings is reliant upon the quality of the studies of which it is composed and, as such, this study is not without its limitations. Using a five-point qualitative methodological rating scale, the authors report that 19 of the 44 evaluations (43 per cent) were judged to be methodologically solid (score of 4), while eight of the evaluations were deemed as being of poor methodological quality (score of 2). The remaining 17 evaluations were of reasonable methodological quality (score of 3). The most notable methodological shortcomings had to do with a lack of random assignment (39 of 44 evaluations) and no statistical controls being used during analyses (27 of 44 evaluations).

A relatively large-scale study conducted by Wright and Mays (1998) highlights the possibility that boot camps can actually serve to increase rates of recidivism. The study examined recidivism rates among 1,937 non-violent first-time male offenders in Oklahoma who were either placed in a boot camp (n = 560), served traditional prison sentences (n = 802), or were placed on probation (n = 575). The offenders ranged in age from 16 to 47 years; however, over 90 per cent of them were between the ages of 19 and 26 years. The authors controlled for the influence of such variables as age, race and type of offence on recidivism. Offence types were all non-violent, with the majority of them (72 per cent) being property offences and the remaining offences being drug-related.

The results of the study found that youth offenders placed in boot camp settings were significantly more likely to recidivate upon release in comparison with youth who served time in traditional prison sentences or those on probation, a general effect that has also been found in other studies (Cook and Spirrison, 1992; Farrington and Welsh, 2005; Wright and Mays, 1998). Additionally, within the boot camp group, it was found that those who had been sentenced for property offences were more likely to recidivate than drug offenders

As mentioned, it has been found that incorporating aftercare or re-entry components into boot camp programs, focused on helping offenders reintegrate into the community upon release, may be somewhat effective in lowering offender recidivism rates (Josi and Seachrest, 1999; Kurycheck and Kempinen, 2006; Mackenzie, Wilson, and Kider, 2001). For example, a recent study specifically evaluated the residential aftercare component of the Queanna six-month Motivational Boot Camp, located in Queanna, PA (Kurycheck and Kempinen, 2006). An experimental group was exposed to 90 days of residential aftercare involving such things as cognitive-behavioural therapy, substance abuse counselling, employment preparation, and, in most cases, individual treatment plans. It is noted, though, that not everyone experienced the same aftercare.

The study sample consisted of 720 offenders who graduated from the Motivational Boot Camp Program between April 2001 and December 2002. While all of the offenders in the sample (N = 720) graduated from the boot camp, 383 of them did so prior to a mandatory policy change implementing the 90-day residential aftercare component, with the remaining 337 offenders having been exposed to this aftercare component. The average age of the offenders at admission for both groups was 25 years, with the majority being male (over 95 per cent). Additionally, for each group the average number of prior arrests was three, while the average age at first arrest was 18 years. The two groups were not found to differ significantly on any other major demographic variables, including sex (over 95 per cent male), race, marital status, education or current offence (mostly drug offences). In order to test for possible effects of the aftercare component, post-graduation recidivism measurements were conducted for a two-year follow-up period.

The results of the study indicate that offenders exposed to the 90-day aftercare component had significantly lower rates of recidivism at the six-month, one-year, and two-year time periods (Kurlychek and Kempinen, 2006). Subsequently, the authors suggest that because "the two year re-arrest rate for the experimental (aftercare) group was approximately equal to the one-year re-arrest rate for the control (no aftercare) group," aftercare seemingly both reduces the risk of recidivism and lengthens the time between release and re-arrest for those who do recidivate. As always, there are study limitations to be considered. First, this is an evaluation of only one aftercare program and, although the findings are consistent with previous ones regarding aftercare components (Brown et al., 2001; Hiller, Knight and Simpson, 1999; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001), it is difficult to generalize them to boot camps or aftercare programs in general. Second, this study does not speak to what types of aftercare programs are most effective, only finding that some form of aftercare appears to be better than none at all. Finally, and most pertinent to the goals of this report, these findings suggest only that aftercare components may be effective when dealing with adult offender populations, while it remains unclear how they may fare when dealing with juvenile ones. However, it is not unreasonable to think that similar or even more positive effects might be seen when exposing juvenile offenders to aftercare programs, as it has generally been found that, compared with adults, juveniles are more receptive to the types of rehabilitative components generally found in aftercare and re-entry programs.

In sum, the majority of evidence regarding boot camps suggests that they generally have either no effect on subsequent offending rates (Bottcher and Ezell, 2005; Kempinen and Kurlychek, 2003; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001) or, in some cases, that they may actually lead to increased rates of recidivism (Farrington and Welsh, 2005; Wright and Mays, 1998). However, positive effects may perhaps be achieved by incorporating aftercare programs (Kurlychek and Kempinen, 2006; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001), although it is currently unclear what the most effective aftercare programs might look like or how they might be best tailored for increasing their effects among juveniles and specific types of offenders. As such, further empirical research regarding aftercare might help to better distinguish among these programs. Finally, as noted in discussing the meta-analysis conducted by Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider (2001), much of the existing research regarding boot camps is hampered by methodological issues such as a lack of random assignment and statistical controls.

Conclusion

The empirical evidence regarding harsh deterrence-based approaches towards youth crime is, for the most part, inconsistent, with negative outcomes being seen in a number of different studies (Baron, 1998; Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Johnson, Simons and Conger, 2004; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001; Myers, 2001, 2003b).

Regarding youth waiver policies, the results of some studies demonstrate that youth transferred into the adult criminal justice system may be at a higher risk to recidivate (Bishop and Frazier, 2000; Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Myers 2001, 2003b), and to do so more quickly than retained youth (Fagan, Kupchick and Liberman, 2003; Myers, 2003b). Additionally, there is evidence to suggest that such policies have little or no effect on juvenile crime rates in general (Jensen and Metsger, 1994; Ruhland, Gold and Heckman, 1982) and that their goals of harsher punishment certainty and severity are perhaps not even being met (Dawson, 1992; Rudman et al., 1986; Fritsch, Caeti and Hemmens, 1996; Lemmon, Austin, Verrecchia, and Fetzer, 2005). It appears too that the deterrent effects of harsher, more adult-like sanctions fluctuate with age (Cauffmen and Steinberg, 2000; Ruhland, Gold and Heckman, 1982), suggesting the need for individual assessments and judicial discretion regarding youth waivers.

It has been found that youth who perceive or experience higher severity of punishment are not necessarily deterred from committing deviant acts (Abrams, 2006; Greilich, Trager and Chishalm, 1982; Johnson, Simon and Conger, 2004; Teevan, 1976). Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that fear of punishment is diminished with a variety of lifestyle factors, including poverty, elevated drug and alcohol use, missing normative constraints, and deviant peer associations (Baron, 1998; Johnson, Simons and Conger, 2004).

Among the least-supported deterrence-based approaches are "shock" programs such as Scared Straight and boot camps, with many studies finding that they contribute to the likelihood of future offending (Bottcher and Ezell, 2005; Farrington and Welsh, 2005; Finckenauer, 1982; Kempinen and Kurlychek, 2003; Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino and Buehler, 2003; Wright and Mays, 1998).

In terms of post-confinement, the most positive effects may be achieved by incorporating aftercare and re-entry programs (Kurlychek and Kempinen, 2006; Mackenzie, Wilson and Kider, 2001). Additionally, incorporating individual and family counselling, drug and alcohol interventions, anger management, and cognitive-behavioural sessions aimed at increasing self-esteem, moral inhibition, and feelings of responsibility into youth offender approaches has been found to produce positive effects (Abrams, 2006; Pogarsky, Kim and Paternoster, 2005; Teevan, 1976). Ultimately however, there does not appear to be one approach that is most effective in responding to youth crime. Rather, employing multiple and blended strategies incorporating both rehabilitative and deterrent goals is most likely to achieve the most desirable results.

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Rehabilitation Strategies[5]

What Is Rehabilitation?

Rehabilitation efforts are an attempt, through treatment or programming, to stop offenders from continuing to offend. Webster (2004) notes that "[r]ehabilitation is a crime prevention strategy rooted in the notion that offenders can change and lead crime-free lives in the community" (Webster, 2004: 115). While other preventative programs attempt to sway youth away from getting involved in violence and delinquency before they have done so, rehabilitation programs target youth who have already engaged in delinquent or violent behaviour. Rehabilitation is also known as tertiary crime prevention (Farrington and Welsh, 2007: 93). Rehabilitative programs can be provided within or as part of another criminal justice sanction, such as incarceration or probation, but this is not a requirement of rehabilitative programming (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 9).

The Great Debate

Rehabilitative treatment was a dominant response to criminal offending until concerns began to arise in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Those opposed to rehabilitation questioned the use of discretion afforded to state officials in determining and delivering treatment as a sentence, versus its use as a method of control and discrimination (Cullen, 2007: 718). During this period, a number of evaluation studies also suggested that rehabilitative efforts were not working. This trend culminated in Dr. Robert Martinson's famous (or infamous) 1974 publication on programming in correctional settings, which posed the question "does nothing work?" (Martinson, 1974: 48; also see Martinson, 1976: 180; and Lipton et al., 1975). Martinson's "nothing works" hypothesis did not, however, terminate the debate surrounding rehabilitation. Critics jumped at the challenge to prove that rehabilitation strategies do have promise (for example, Palmer, 1975; Gendreau, 1981; Cullen, 2005). By 1979, Martinson himself reversed his original arguments and noted that positive effects have been shown to occur with a number of different treatment programs (Martinson, 1979: 244). In a re-analysis of the rehabilitation literature, he notes that

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[5] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Rhea Adhopia, MA, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

> . . . startling [positive] results are found again and again in our study, for treatment programs as diverse as individual psychotherapy, group counseling, intensive supervision, and what we have called individual/help (aid, advice, counseling) (Martinson, 1979: 255).

Unfortunately, despite Martinson's efforts to recant his initial conclusions, and despite the results of many other studies that clearly demonstrated the utility of rehabilitation approaches, an "anti-treatment" sentiment marked most correctional policy discussions throughout the 1980s. Nonetheless, the next two decades continued to turn out research that documented the many positive effects of rehabilitative treatment programs (for example, Gendreau and Ross, 1987; Cullen and Gendreau, 1989; Lab and Whitehead, 1988; Andrews et al., 1990; Lab and Whitehead, 1990). The most convincing of these studies have come in the form of sophisticated meta-analyses. These studies attempt to summarize the results of large numbers of previous evaluation studies and establish the overall "effect size" of rehabilitation on various outcome variables (including subsequent offending patterns):

> First we got meta-analyses, then we had meta-analyses of meta-analyses. In short it was a campaign of 'shock and awe' that seemed to end the thirty-year reign of scepticism following Martinson's flawed, over-exposed and exaggerated review (Ward and Maruna, 2007: 9).

Nonetheless, despite numerous empirically based rejections of the "nothing works" hypothesis, some policy-makers have continued to argue that rehabilitation efforts do not work and are soft on criminals. Such critics of the treatment approach frequently call for tougher sentences to deter or incapacitate criminals and for greater monitoring of criminal populations through the expansion of law enforcement capacity (Ward and Maruna, 2007: 10–12). Many of these individuals argue that governments should divert the monies they currently devote to rehabilitation programming into prison construction and policing. However, as outlined in this report, most criminological research strongly supports rehabilitation over both deterrence and incapacitation strategies (Cullen, 2007: 717). It can thus be said with confidence that there is a substantial body of empirical research that supports the notion that rehabilitative efforts can reduce violent and other criminal behaviour. The balance of this paper will be dedicated to this body of research.

This section of the report aims to review different types of rehabilitative programs within the basic framework of "what works" and "what doesn't work." It begins with a brief discussion of public opinion about rehabilitation. A review of the meta-analytic evaluation literature is then provided, followed by a description of some rehabilitation programs that have been shown to reduce recidivism. This section concludes with a summary of what works, what doesn't work and what we need to know more about regarding rehabilitation efforts. Specific recommendations about the implementation of rehabilitation strategies are also reviewed. Please note that this review is most interested in rehabilitation programs that include strategies that target serious violent offenders – including young offenders – who have already been arrested and sentenced to a period of incarceration. However, the available research is not limited to serious and violent youthful offenders. Thus, wherever possible, effects for serious offenders will be explicitly identified.

Public Support for Rehabilitation

While public figures often highlight the public's desire to "get tough" on crime, detailed questioning of citizens indicates that the public also supports the general principles of rehabilitation. American researchers have been aware of this trend for more than 20 years. Roberts (2004) reports that, during the late 1980s, 78 per cent of Americans felt that rehabilitation should be the primary goal when sentencing youth. Moreover, similar results were found earlier in the 1980s and again in the 1990s, indicating stability in public perceptions of rehabilitation (Roberts, 2004: 512). As Cullen (2005) notes, "although the public is punitive and offender treatment has been excoriated repeatedly, Americans still strongly support the view that efforts should be made to rehabilitate offenders" (Cullen, 2005: 12–13).

Importantly, the general public is particularly supportive of rehabilitation for young offenders. In a survey of Ontario residents, Varma (2000, as in Doob and Cesaroni, 2004: 9) found that respondents feel that the rehabilitation of young offenders is far more important than rehabilitation for adults. Moreover, the public feels that incapacitation and deterrence is less important for youth than it is for adults (Varma 2000, as in Doob and Cesaroni, 2004: 9). When asked to rate the importance of rehabilitation as a purpose of youth sentencing, a sample of approximately 500 Ontarians rated rehabilitation as 8.1, on average, on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 signifying no importance and 10 signifying high importance (Doob, 2000: 329). A separate group of approximately 500 Ontarians was asked the same question with regard to adults and indicated 7.77 out of 10 (Doob, 2000: 329), which is still high, but not as strong as perceptions about rehabilitation for youth. This stands in stark contrast to a federal government that wants to "get tough" on youth crime. It is possible that the public appreciates the root causes of youth criminality and realizes that the vast majority of young offenders will ultimately return to the community. The public is aware that we can either address the needs of youthful offenders while they are serving sentences – or simply incarcerate them without treatment and hope that they will be deterred.

The question that emerges, however, is whether the public's general faith in rehabilitation is warranted. The answer to this question will be determined next, by reviewing the empirical evidence on rehabilitative efforts.

What Do We Know About Rehabilitation?

The "what works" discourse essentially boils down to teasing out the factors and treatment programs that help reduce the recidivism of known offenders. Traditionally, therefore, the main goal and primary indicator of a successful rehabilitation program is whether program participants achieve a lower recidivism rate than non-participants do. However, talking about "what works" is not as straightforward as might be expected. There are thousands of existing evaluations on rehabilitative efforts (Wormith et al., 2007: 881) and it would be almost impossible to simply review each and every one of these reviews and decipher what the best practices are for youth. Meta-analytic studies help to overcome this daunting task by synthesizing the results of many studies at once.

Meta-analyses first select a sample of evaluation studies that meet certain methodological standards. Criteria for inclusion in a meta-analysis might include factors like sample size, pre-program and post-program outcomes, the presence of a control group, etc. A study selection process that focuses on methodological rigour and program characteristics ultimately makes it easier to summarize results and compare rehabilitative efforts across time and space. The subsequent process of coding information from individual studies is conducted much like the systematic coding of individual survey responses from a representative sample from the general population (see Howell, 2003: 198). The outcome variable in meta-analytic studies is called an "effect size," which in the case of rehabilitation refers to whether (and how much) the treatment worked in reducing recidivism when compared with the control group that received no treatment. A larger effect size indicates that there was less recidivism among the treatment groups compared with the control groups. A negative effect size indicates a negative impact (i.e., more recidivism among the treatment groups when compared with control groups). Essentially, an effect size is the mean difference between the treatment and control groups (Aos et al., 2001: 38). The next section of this report reviews the findings from meta-analyses, beginning with three of the most influential meta-analyses to date, which continue to be widely cited in current literature (Cullen, 2007).

Evaluation of the Rehabilitation Paradigm Through Meta-analyses

Andrews et al., (1990) conducted a meta-analysis on correctional treatment evaluations using two samples of studies. The first sample included 45 studies of juvenile treatment that were published in professional journals between 1975 and 1984. The second sample included 35 additional studies that were conducted between the 1950s and 1989. The purpose of the second sample was to analyze the generalizability of the first sample, including the applicability of conclusions to adult correctional populations (Andrews et al., 1990: 377).

In looking at recidivism for various programs, Andrews et al. (1990) were also testing their model of "risk-need-responsivity" (RNR) in predicting effective treatment. The RNR model posits that applying the three principles of risk, need, and responsivity is imperative for effective treatment planning and delivery and hypothesized reductions in offender recidivism.

The "risk" principle refers to the notion that offenders who are at higher risk of reoffending should have greater levels of treatment devoted to them, whereas lower-risk offenders should receive lesser levels of treatment. (Andrews et al., 1990: 374). The "needs" principle refers to the notion that criminogenic needs should be targeted for change. Criminogenic needs are risk factors that are seen as dynamic or changeable. Examples of criminogenic needs include anti-social attitudes and feelings and negative peer associations. Static risk factors, such as prior criminal record, are obviously unchangeable (Andrews et al., 1990: 374–375). The "responsivity" principle refers to using methods of treatment that are capable of bringing about the desired changes in offenders and that are matched with the learning styles of offenders (Andrews et al., 1990: 375). This principle has been criticized by other authors for being circular, because the definition of the principle is essentially the desired outcome as well (change in the offender). However, Andrews et al. point to specific approaches, such as cognitive-behavioural and social learning techniques, that have been shown to bring about changes in behaviour (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 310).

To test the RNR model, studies included in the meta-analysis were categorized as belonging to one of four types. The first category refers to normal correctional sanctions without rehabilitative programming. The remaining three types included appropriate service, unspecified service and inappropriate service. "Appropriate" correctional service refers specifically to programs that incorporate the three RNR principles:

> (1) delivery of service to higher risk cases, (2) targeting of criminogenic needs, and (3) use of styles and modes of treatment (e.g. cognitive and behavioural) that are matched with client need and learning styles (Andrews et al., 1990: 369).

"Inappropriate" correctional service, on the other hand, refers to programs that do not follow the three RNR principles and thus provide service to lower-risk cases, do not target criminogenic needs, and are unstructured (Andrews et al., 1990: 379). Finally, Andrews and his colleagues refer to "unspecified" correctional service as rehabilitative programs that cannot be categorized into either of the previous two types of treatment program (Andrews et al., 1990: 380).

Andrews et al. (1990: 382) found that type of treatment was the strongest predictor of subsequent offender behaviour.[6] They reported that upon comparing "appropriate" service with "unspecified," "inappropriate" service and non-treatment criminal sanctions, it was determined that, indeed, appropriate service yielded significantly higher reductions in recidivism than did either of the other three categories. Moreover, appropriate and unspecified treatment both showed significant reductions in recidivism when compared with criminal sanctions and inappropriate service. "Casual review of recidivism rates will reveal that, on average," appropriate treatment was found to cut recidivism rates by 53 per cent (Andrews et al., 1990: 385). In other words, when recidivism rates for offenders who received "appropriate" treatment were compared with recidivism rates for offenders who received criminal sanctions, the rates of reoffending were cut by about half. Thus, for example, if for every offender who received criminal sanctions six would recidivate, then only three out of every ten offenders who received appropriate treatment would recidivate.

A few years later, Loeber and Farrington (1998) reported on the results of Mark W. Lipsey's and David B. Wilson's 1998 meta-analysis of 200 studies investigating the effectiveness of treatment interventions for serious and violent juvenile offenders (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18). Mark Lipsey is one of the leaders in meta-analytical studies and has been commended for continuing to publish numerous methodologically sound studies on rehabilitation (Cullen, 2005; Jones and Wyant, 2007; Ward and Maruna, 2007). Loeber and Farrington (1998) described seriously violent youth as those who had committed offences such as homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault and kidnapping. Serious non-violent offences were defined as burglary, motor vehicle theft, theft over $100, arson and drug trafficking. Youth who engaged in these offences were defined as serious and/or violent juveniles (SVJ) (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 7). Conclusions were made about the effect sizes in reducing recidivism for both institutionalized and non-institutionalized youth. Although small, medium/moderate and large effect sizes were not defined by Loeber and Farrington (1998), Cohen (1988), in reference to Cohen's *d* (difference between two means), defined small effect sizes as equal to 0.2, medium effect sizes as equal to 0.5 and large effect sizes as equal to 0.8. According to this definition, small effect sizes indicate a reduction in recidivism of up to 14.7 per cent compared with the control group; moderate effect sizes indicate up to a 33 per cent reduction of recidivism compared with the control group; and large effect sizes indicate up to a 47.4 per cent reduction in recidivism compared with the control group.

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[6] *Other variables included the sample of studies (recall that there were two samples), the justice system (juvenile vs. adult), the year of study publication, the quality of the design and the setting (community, institutional/residential) (Andrews et al., 1990: 380-381).*

Among non-institutionalized youth, the authors found that positive rehabilitative effects were larger for youth who had mixed prior offences (including offences against persons), compared with youth who only had prior property offences (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18). For both institutionalized and non-institutionalized youth, there were larger positive treatment effects detected for longer treatment durations (i.e., longer programs), although fewer contact hours per week were associated with larger effect sizes among non-institutionalized youth (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18).

With regard to specific types of programs, Loeber and Farrington (1998) found that programs that used interpersonal skills training, behavioural approaches, individual counselling and drug abstinence programs yielded the largest effect sizes on reducing recidivism among non-institutionalized youth. For institutionalized youth, it was found that the largest effect sizes for reductions in recidivism occurred with interpersonal skills training, cognitive-behavioural programs and teaching family homes (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18). In addition, institutionalized programs yielded larger positive effects when program implementation was monitored, compared with when it was not; programs were older than two years; and programs used mental health personnel instead of criminal justice personnel to deliver the treatment (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18).

Among both non-institutionalized and institutionalized youth, moderate effect sizes in recidivism reductions were found in programs that offered multiple services. For non-institutionalized youth, restitution programs were also found to provide moderate effect sizes, while among institutionalized youth, moderate effect sizes were found in programs that offered community residential programs, group counselling, individual services, and guided group therapy (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18).

With respect to the best-case scenarios provided by this study, the reductions in recidivism were the same for institutionalized and non-institutionalized youth, yielding "reductions in recidivism from around .50 to .30, a substantial 40 per cent reduction" (Loeber and Farrington, 1998: 18). However, both Lipsey and Wilson (1998) and Andrews et al. (1990) found that treatment effects were generally larger in the community than within institutionalized settings (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 304). In essence, this means that when compared with community-based programs, institutionalized programs have been found to be less effective. Although Lipsey and Wilson (1998) and Andrews et al. (1990) both found that treatment effects were larger in the community than within institutionalized settings, they did not address why this could be the case. They did discuss whether this may have had something to do with differences between offenders in the two groups, differences in the treatment itself, or the inherent differences in the treatment environment (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 304).

Greenwood (2006) identifies three problems with residential treatment, with the first two aiding in understanding why treatment is less effective in these settings. Firstly, putting groups of serious offending youth together paves the way for them to support each other in delinquent behaviour. Secondly, residential programs often create an artificial environment, thus making it difficult for youth to apply what they learn in real-world situations. Lastly, residential treatment is expensive, costing "at least three times the cost of intensive nonresidential programs" (Greenwood, 2006: 88).

Returning to Loeber and Farrington (1998), for programs that did not work, they reported that among institutionalized youth, employment-related programs and drug abstinence programs all had little or no effect on recidivism. For non-institutionalized offenders, deterrence programs (e.g., boot camps), early release probation and parole, and some vocational programs all had little or no effect on recidivism. Wilderness challenge programs were found to "not work" for either institutionalized or non-institutionalized youth, and subsequent studies have actually found that wilderness programs are much less effective for serious and violent youth than for any other delinquent youth group (Howell, 2003: 141). Furthermore, other studies have supported the finding that some programs increase recidivism for non-institutionalized serious and violent youth, such as deterrence programs (e.g., boot camps, Scared Straight) and vocational programs that do not include education (Howell, 2003: 136; Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 300).

A subsequent meta-analysis by Lipsey (1999) combined the results of over 200 studies on juvenile treatment programs in institutionalized settings and community-based settings. He found the largest effects on recidivism occurred with programs that "incorporated individual counselling, developed interpersonal skills, offered behavioural programs (e.g., family therapy), and included multiple services" (Jones and Wyant, 2007: 764-765). Youth who were exposed to interventions reported significantly lower recidivism rates. Further analysis of 83 interventions for institutionalized young offenders found that programs that helped build interpersonal skills and offered behavioural programs and multiple services continued to be effective in these settings as well as in community residential programs (Jones and Wyant, 2007: 765).

As in the 1998 study, Lipsey (1999) found that programs that were longer than six months, were provided by a non-justice provider, were properly implemented and had been in existence for more than two years all contributed to significantly reducing recidivism. Over all, the programs with the best program features could reduce recidivism to 40 per cent to 50 per cent of what it would be without programming (Lipsey, 1999, as cited in Jones and Wyant, 2007: 765). Hence, if recidivism were to occur for 50 per cent of offenders without treatment, then the best-case scenario for treatment effects would reduce this figure by up to half, or 25 per cent.

More recent meta-analyses have continued to echo findings similar to what has been reported by Andrews et al. (1990), Loeber and Farrington (1998) and Lipsey (1999) and offer more focused examinations of program characteristics such as program integrity, mandated versus voluntary participation, and offender characteristics. The findings on these types of factors are discussed next.

The need for treatment initiatives to maintain program integrity, or the delivering of programs as they were designed, seems like a common sense issue: if programs are not implemented according to their design, how can they be said to work? Factors such as resource scarcity and variation between treatment counsellors can contribute to the low integrity of treatment programs. There are a handful of meta-analyses that have looked into the relationship between program implementation and effect size and all have found that program implementation is strongly related to program effects on recidivism (Andrews and Dowden, 2005; Landenberger and Lipsey, 2005; Latimer, 2001, Lipsey and Wilson, 1998; Lösel and Schmucker, 2005 as cited in Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 311). Recall that Loeber and Farrington (1998) reported larger effects when the program implementation was monitored in correctional settings. Some studies indicate that programs that are not implemented properly have the potential to do more harm (such as result in more violence) than no treatment at all (Webster, 2004). Hence, if a program cannot be delivered as designed due to financial or other constraints, it is best not to make modifications to try and keep it running.

When examining family interventions, one researcher discovered an important relationship between treatment effects and voluntary treatment. Latimer (2001) examined family interventions through a meta-analysis of 35 published and unpublished studies conducted between 1973 and 1999. While support for family interventions was no longer strong after controlling for methodological rigour (Latimer, 2001), Latimer did also find that more positive effects on recidivism occurred with treatment programs where participation was voluntary as opposed to mandated (Latimer, 2001).
One explanation for this could be that more serious offenders are more likely to be forced into treatment; however, this would violate Andrews et al.'s "risk" principle, which has been supported in subsequent studies (Dowden and Andrews, 2000). An alternative explanation for the relationship between voluntary treatment and program success is that when offenders want to be in treatment, when they want to change, results are more easily attained. Interestingly, this implies that program effects can be influenced by

offenders themselves – the same would be true for example, where offenders physically attend programs but do not participate (i.e., are not engaged), or if they drop out of a program before it is completed (also known as attrition). As Ward and Maruna (2007: 18–19) stress, "if participants themselves do not engage with or commit themselves to an intervention, the 'treatment' cannot really claim to be of much 'help.'"

Expanding on the Dowden and Andrews (2000) study cited above, offender characteristics have been shown to have an impact on correctional program effectiveness through a meta-analysis of 35 studies[7] that used violent recidivism as the outcome variable (Dowden and Andrews, 2000: 456). Specifically, in accordance with the RNR's "risk" principle, higher-risk and violent offenders have shown larger reductions in recidivism than lower-risk offenders upon effective treatment. However, this finding did not reach statistical significance within the particular study (Dowden and Andrews, 2000: 460). The authors note that risk has generally been the weakest-supported aspect of the RNR model and that this could be due to problems in coding high- and low-risk offenders during meta-analysis since original studies tend to lack this information. Logically, it makes sense to think that larger reductions in recidivism would follow from treatment of higher-risk offenders compared with lower-risk offenders, considering that the expectation of higher-risk offenders is that they will commit more crime than lower-risk offenders will. Thus, the successful treatment of high-risk offenders would expectedly prevent more crimes than the successful treatment of low risk offenders would. In other words, higher-risk offenders "have more room for improvement from effective treatment" (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007). However, more research is needed to clarify the issue. One of the most important findings of Dowden and Andrews (2000) is that the results are consistent with the results found in Andrews et al. (1990) indicating that treatment that incorporated the principles of effective correctional treatment[8] yielded the largest reductions in recidivism when compared with inappropriate service (Dowden and Andrews, 2000: 458). The difference, however, is that Andrews et al. (1990) used general recidivism as the outcome variable whereas Dowden and Andrews (2000) used violent recidivism as the outcome variable, thus indicating the generalizability of the RNR model to more specific conditions (violent recidivism) (460).

To conclude this section on the findings of meta-analyses, it is noteworthy that Lipsey and Cullen (2007) reviewed virtually all meta-analyses regarding correctional treatments and found that, when comparing those who received rehabilitative treatment with those who did not, "every one of these meta-analyses found mean effect sizes favourable to treatment and none found less than a 10 per cent average reduction in recidivism," with most mean effect sizes showing reductions of recidivism of 20 per cent and the highest reductions going up to 40 per cent (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 303). Moreover, in meta-analyses of studies that compare sanctions (longer versus shorter sentences, more versus less), the best cases have shown moderate reductions in recidivism while the worst cases have shown increased recidivism as the result (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 314). Finally, the smallest mean reduction found among meta-analyses of rehabilitative treatments is larger than the greatest mean reduction in recidivism found in meta-analyses of criminal sanctions (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 314). What this implies is that rehabilitation "works," and in comparison with conventional sanctions, it works a lot better.

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[7] *Note that in this meta-analysis, more than 70 per cent of the studies used contain an adult sample (Dowden and Andrews, 2000:456).*

[8] *This includes the RNR principles plus an additional "human service" principle which refers to human service in contrast to sanctions with no services (Dowden and Andrews, 2000: 455).*

The next section of this report will turn to some of the specific programs that have been shown to work within and outside of correctional settings.

As noted above, Lipsey and Cullen (2007) compared the effect sizes of numerous meta-analyses in their review. In order to do this, the authors created an index of meta-analyses that converted findings into a phi statistic and subsequently calculated reductions in recidivism as a percentage,[9] which allowed for simple comparison (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 300). Please keep this in mind wherever this study is referred to below, as the figures may deviate slightly from what was noted by the original authors as a result of the systematic comparison by Lipsey and Cullen (2007).

Promising Programs

It is important to mention that different programs work for different types[10] of offenders. For example, providing employment opportunities has been shown to work in reducing recidivism, but only for people who were more than 26 years old (Webster, 2004: 118). Recall that the focus of this report is treatment for serious and violent youth who have already been adjudicated. It is well beyond the scope of this report to review the vast literature on all individual programs that are currently in operation, but the following are some of the most promising due to rigorous evaluations. For clarity, programs have been broken down into those that have been tested in the community and those that have been tested in institutional settings, although the programs are not limited to these settings.

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[9] *This percentage assumed that the rate of recidivism for the average control group was 0.5 (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 300).*

[10] *For example, age, gender, type and seriousness of offence, etc.*

Promising Programs Within the Community

The three programs that will be discussed below have the following elements in common: "All three involve recruiting and motivating families to participate in the intervention, working with families to identify problems and develop solutions, and extensive monitoring of adherence to the model and intervention protocols" (Greenwood, 2006: 70). Moreover, they include oversight mechanisms that ensure programs are implemented accurately and consistently. Multi-systemic therapy and multidimensional foster care programs both use service coordinators who stay in touch with schools, parents, counsellors, etc. These are tested models that have been replicated in various sites.

Multi-systemic therapy and multidimensional treatment foster care programs "appear promising in the treatment of severely aggressive adolescents with chronic juvenile justice histories," with reported decreases in arrest rates of 25 to 75 per cent lower than control groups over one-year to four-year follow-up periods, according to evaluation studies (Connor et al., 2006: 812), and the research is supportive of functional family therapy as well.

Multi-systemic Therapy

Scott Henggeler's multi-systemic therapy (or MST) has received much attention for producing a model that not only "works" to reduce recidivism, but also is also continuously evaluated and has been successfully replicated in other areas.

The main goal of MST is to assist parents in dealing with their child's behaviour problems. Examples of these problems include poor school performance and hanging around deviant peers. The program serves youth in both the social service and youth justice systems (Greenwood, 2006: 72). MST is usually administered in natural settings, such as the home or school or in the community. The duration of the treatment is four months, including 50 hours of time with a counsellor. In addition to the 50 contact hours, counsellors are on call for emergency service (Howell, 2003: 235).

MST works with the family to help parents with effective parenting and building social support networks. This approach encourages the extended family to participate, in addition to teachers, school administrators, "and other adults who interact with the youth" (Greenwood, 2006: 72).

The research done about the effects of MST is extensive. Three meta-analyses on MST have indicated reductions in recidivism ranging from 16 per cent to 46 per cent when compared with control groups (Aos et al., 2001; Curtis et al., 2004; Littell et al., 2005 as cited in Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 308). Moreover,

> MST is considered as one of the best practice programs as reported by the highly regarded Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP) and The Centre for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado (Leschied, 2007: 40).

It has also been named as a "model" therapy by the Surgeon General's Report (Greenwood 2006: 70) in the United States. MST has been shown as an effective treatment for delinquency (Howell, 2003: 137), even for serious and violent youth.

First, MST targets for change the 'empirically established determinants of serious antisocial behaviour' (Henggeler, 1999: 3). Second, when intervening with youths, there is a reliance on the 'integration of evidence-based techniques' (Sheidow et al.' 2003: 303). Third, there is a continuing commitment to evaluate MST programs to ensure quality control and to understand the factors that shape its effectiveness across types of problem behaviors and settings. In general, MST has enjoyed firm empirical support (Farrington and Welsh, 2002, 2003; Sheidow et al., 2003; cf. Littell, in press as cited in Cullen, 2005: 24).

Clearly then, support has been mounting for MST as an effective treatment program for delinquent youth, including violent youth. Evidence-based support has also been mounting for multidimensional treatment foster care, which will be discussed next.

Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care

Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care (MTFC) puts delinquent youth into a foster home, either by themselves or with one other adolescent. Foster parents are trained and use behavioural parenting techniques prior to taking a youth into the home (Eddy et al., 2004: 3). During the youth's stay, foster parents engage in daily phone calls with a case manager and attend group meetings once a week that are run by a case manager (Greenwood, 2006: 72–73).

Youth are treated by an individual therapist while another therapist works with the natural parents. There are no group sessions and youth are discouraged from associating with delinquent peers (Eddy et al., 2004: 3). Program delivery is coordinated and overseen by case managers.

Studies have compared MTFC with treatment in a group home through random assignment and found that MTFC is effective in reducing subsequent arrests

(Greenwood, 2006: 73). For example, Eddy et al. (2004) compared the violent recidivism of 42 male youth who were randomly assigned to group care (GC) with 37 male youth who were randomly assigned into MTFC between 1991 and 1995. Group care consisted of homes with six to 15 offenders living together. Although there was variation between the 11 homes studied, most youth participated in individual and group therapy as part of their program (Eddy et al., 2004: 3).

These youth were deemed serious and chronic offenders who fell into "the top 1 per cent of local juvenile offenders in terms of total arrests in the past 3 years" (Eddy et al., 2004: 3). Ages ranged from 12 to17, with an average age of 14.9 at the beginning of the program (Eddy et al., 2004: 4). There were no significant differences between the control and experimental groups in terms of demographics, offence type/history and a number of other factors (Eddy et al., 2004: 4).

Official criminal referrals (i.e., official records of assault, menacing, kidnapping, unlawful weapons use, robbery, rape, sexual abuse, attempted murder, and murder) were coupled with self-report data to obtain a measure of violent behaviour for a two-year follow-up period (Eddy et al., 2004: 4-5). Findings indicated that MTFC participants had significantly fewer criminal referrals for violence than youth who were in GC (21 per cent versus 38 per cent) according to official referrals and self-report data (Eddy et al., 2004: 5). Moreover, only five per cent of MTFC youth were referred for two or more violent offences, while 24 per cent of GC youth were referred for two or more violent offences (Eddy et al., 2004: 6). A subsequent study found similar program effects for girls (Leve and Chamberlain, 2005: 340). A meta-analysis of MTFC showed a 36 per cent reduction in recidivism when compared with the control groups (Aos et al., 2001 as cited in Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 308).

Functional Family Therapy

In Functional Family Therapy (FFT), treatment is delivered to youth between the ages of 11 and 18 who have engaged in delinquency, violence or substance abuse (Greenwood, 2006: 70). Essentially, the program works on relationships between family members in order to improve the functioning of the family unit as a whole. FFT equips families with tools for problem-solving and effective parenting in addition to building family bonds.

Service delivery of FFT consists of a hierarchical structure whereby senior therapists/trainers supervise and monitor teams of four to eight other therapists (Greenwood, 2006: 72).

According to Greenwood (2006), FFT "is well documented and readily transportable" (Greenwood, 2006: 72). FFT has been demonstrated as effective in many trials over the last 25 years. Results have held in various settings and with services delivered by different types of therapists (Greenwood, 2006: 72). It was also named as a "model" therapy by the Surgeon General's Report in the United States. Meta-analysis of FFT for juveniles indicated a 20 per cent reduction in recidivism compared with the control group (Aos et al., 2001 as cited in Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 308). FFT is cheaper than MST, but not as intensive, and there is no on-call therapist. Both programs take about the same amount of time to complete (four months) (Greenwood, 2006: 72).

Promising Programs within Institutional Settings

Unfortunately, the research support for specific programs within correctional settings is lacking compared with community treatment programs. The institutional programs are not as well defined as MST, FFT, and MTFC, but types of treatment have been looked at, although they may vary in implementation from site to site. Even so, these programs, as cited in the literature (e.g., Webster, 2004: Howell, 2003; Greenwood, 2006), suggest that many of the known institutional programs are not what work best for youth, especially seriously delinquent youth. For example, vocational programs, as noted above, may not be ideal for youth. The same has been said for substance abuse programs within correctional settings for serious and/or violent youth (Lipsey, 1999), although these have shown positive results in other meta-analyses of effective youth and adult treatment (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 309). Interpersonal skills training has received support as an effective treatment component (Lipsey, 1999); however, there is little discussion of what this entails or whether it occurs as a program by itself. Thus, in the case of institutional treatment, there are general principles that have been identified as effective. These principles have been discussed above as part of the review of meta-analyses and will be summarized towards the end of this section of the report. However, there is agreement that "[b]ehavioural and social learning approaches faired better than non-behavioural approaches" to treatment in institutional settings (Dowden and Andrews, 2000: 459) and as a result, it is most appropriate to discuss one of these treatments here. Cognitive-behavioural therapy has been selected for discussion because it is one of the most well-defined forms of treatment in the literature and it is widely used on its own or as part of other treatments (such as MST, Moral Reconation Therapy (MRT) and the Reasoning and Rehabilitation program (Hubbard, 2007: 3)]. Moreover, this treatment is consistent with Andrews et al.'s (1990) concept of responsivity.

Cognitive-behavioural Therapy

Cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT) is an approach that is used on its own or as part of another program. It uses

> . . . exercises and instruction that are designed to alter the dysfunctional thinking patterns exhibited by many offenders [e.g., a focus on dominance in interpersonal relationships, feelings of entitlement, self-justification, displacement of blame and unrealistic expectations about consequences of antisocial behaviour (Walters 1990)] (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 302).

CBT helps people become aware of the existence of these dysfunctional thinking patterns, or "automatic negative thoughts, attitudes expectations and beliefs, and to understand how these negative thinking patterns contribute to unhealthy feelings and behaviours" (Wolfe, 2007: 66). As such, CBT focuses on one of the most robust correlates of crime, anti-social attitudes. Moreover, correctional staff can be trained to conduct CBT in a relatively short period of time (Hubbard, 2007: 6). Qualified staff help youth transform negative thoughts into positive ones, and with the emphasis on the connection between thoughts and behaviours, this helps change behaviour as well (Wolfe, 2007: 66). Some of the behavioural techniques used by CBT include role playing, reinforcement and modelling (Hubbard, 2007: 7). This can be related to the RNR model, since using a multitude of techniques is important to meeting the responsivity principle of the RNR model because it allows for a larger scope of varying learning needs/styles to be met for different offenders (Hubbard, 2007: 2).

Meta-analyses of CBT have indicated reductions in recidivism ranging from eight per cent to 32 per cent compared with control groups, although these studies generally include mixed samples of adults and juveniles (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007: 308). As noted above, programs that have included CBT have also fared well during evaluation research. However, it is clear that more research needs to be done on the type of programming that is implemented within correctional settings. This is but one of many research questions that remain to be answered by future research. The next section discusses some of the other questions that remain regarding rehabilitation efforts.

What Do We Need To Learn More About?

While the research on rehabilitation has come a long way over the last few decades to support the notion that "rehabilitation works," a multitude of unanswered questions remain for future research to address. The following are some of the issues that are most pertinent to the advancement of effective rehabilitation.

Effects of Incarceration on Rehabilitation

Some authors suggest that the effects of prison may wipe out the effects of programming (Webster, 2004: 116). Although it has been contended here that effective treatment can be offered both within and outside the walls of a correctional facility, there is evidence that being imprisoned elicits negative effects. However, if it is decided that imprisonment is the most appropriate choice of punishment, it is suggested that rehabilitative efforts are a requirement in order to combat negative effects of prison.

> On the one hand, continued efforts in rehabilitation are arguably an obligation by the state to ensure at a minimum – that offenders do not return to the community worse off than before conviction (Webster, 2004: 120).

As noted earlier, treatment within prison is better than prison with no treatment.

Interaction Effects

While most studies discuss the effects of particular programs or approaches, the literature is lacking on the topic of combinations of different programs. The reality is that most offenders receive multiple programs, especially during incarceration. It would be interesting to learn what the cumulative benefits and/or downfalls are to combining various types of programming.

"What Works" for Female Offenders?

Most of the rehabilitation studies on youth involve a male sample. Much like what is seen in the adult system, the lack of data on female youth is generally attributable to the small numbers of female youth, compared with males, who enter the youth justice system. Pertinent to the present context, it is important to remember that females are far less likely to engage in violent behaviour than males are. This makes it difficult to obtain a representative sample for research purposes. This in turn makes it difficult to bring forth female-specific conclusions regarding effective rehabilitation for female offenders. Therefore, researchers may need to consider new, creative methods for obtaining a reliable research study on female youth.

With such limited data available on programs for violent female youth, Goldstein et al. (2007) conducted a study on 12 girls who were randomly assigned to anger management or a "treatment as usual" condition. The study found that there was a positive effect (Goldstein et al., 2007: 1); however, the small sample precludes any decision-making based on this study. Consistent with the authors' recommendations, a larger-scale study should be conducted to determine the potential of such programs. Other studies (for example, Dowden and Andrews, 2000; Hubbard, 2007; Lipsey, 1999) have supported the notion that the RNR model extends to female offenders as well, particularly the responsivity principle. Nonetheless, more research needs to be done to make robust conclusions for this particular group.

The Process of Change

One item of importance is the formation of an adequate theoretical grounding for rehabilitation. Research has started to uncover some of what works, but not *why* it works. Andrews et al.'s (1990) RNR model, while useful, has been criticized for lacking in a theoretical base, and for not providing enough guidance on what to actually do in order to address dynamic factors (Ward and Maruna, 2007: 51–65).

Blanchard (2001) examined the experiences of violent youth mandated to counselling sessions as a mode of rehabilitation. The sample of eight participants was obtained from the Department of Juvenile Services in southern Louisiana. This was a purposeful sample of male violent offenders between the ages of 12 and 18 who had various experiences in counselling. All participants were selected from an Intensive Supervision Program that included time in a detention facility (one to two weeks), followed by house arrest as part of probation. Participants must have committed at least one violent offence to be included in the study, such as simple assault, aggravated assault, sexual assault, gang fights, strong-arm robbery, or homicide. Participants also had to be reoffenders, meaning that they had committed at least one previous criminal or non-criminal offence. Individual and/or group counselling sessions occurred at least once per week throughout the entirety of the intensive supervision program (Blanchard, 2001: 36-41).

Blanchard found that participants generally found current counselling sessions to be more positive than previous experiences with counselling because of the relationship with program counsellors (Blanchard, 2001: 105–106). While this finding is not generalizable due to the incredibly small sample, it highlights the importance of studying the therapeutic relationship in terms of rehabilitation.

What do Offenders Want?

The voices of offenders are often left out of the "what works" debate. Studies that have actually consulted with known offenders have revealed that convicts are often not fond of rehabilitation or treatment efforts within the correctional environment – especially in the context of programs that emphasize personal risk or psychological perspectives (Ward and Maruna, 2007: 15). At the same time, many people who are or were in prison have expressed positive attitudes towards treatment strategies that focused on "self-change, empowerment, and desistance" (M. Kay Harris, 2005 as cited in Ward and Maruna, 2007: 15–16).

Consider the names of following types of correctional therapy: "cognitive-behavioural programming" and "reasoning and rehabilitation." These are examples of terms that highlight the need to change an individual who is somehow "wrong" or "deficient" or "pathological." Many offenders reject these negative labels. Thus, the negative connotations associated with many treatment programs can impact how they are received or interpreted by offenders and ultimately hinder program effectiveness. This notion is in line with research that suggests that effective rehabilitative treatment is most likely to occur when participation is voluntary (Latimer, 2001: 244).

In her qualitative study of 20 young men and women who had undergone rehabilitative treatment, Hoffman (2004) notes that all participants expressed that "the momentum and desire to change has to come from within" (Hoffman, 2004: 108). Thus, when designing programming and policy, it is important that the outcome is appealing for those whom we want to change. Perhaps consultation or collaboration with the people who are most directly affected by programming would help to create the most appropriate treatment services – services that are more consistent with the specific rehabilitation needs of individual offenders. Nothing that we try to do can be successful without their cooperation.

Research on Current Treatment Programs and Upcoming Treatment Models

As mentioned earlier in this report, there are many programs that have not received extensive evaluation. This is not to say that these programs do not have the potential to be promising, only that evaluation has yet to be completed. It is imperative that programs are evaluated with the utmost methodological rigour in order to ensure that youth are receiving optimal treatment and/or to make necessary adjustments. The process of evaluation and redesign was a key factor in the creation of the "promising programs" discussed above. For example, a program that needs more evaluation is the Good Lives Model of rehabilitation (GLM). It has much in common with Andrews et al.'s RNR model, but approaches treatment from a different viewpoint (Ward and Maruna, 2007: 172-173). It would be fair to say that the main difference is that the GLM presents treatment options as a glass half full instead of half empty. Whereas RNR looks to deficiencies and areas that essentially need to be repaired in individuals, GLM focuses on positive aspects and encourages change through a different lens. This and other appealing programs in the growing field of positive psychology should be the aim of future research.

Summary of What Works in Rehabilitation

According to the literature previously cited in this section of the report (Andrews and Dowden, 2005; Andrews et al., 1990; Cullen, 2005; Dowden and Andrews, 2000; Greenwood, 2006; Howell, 2003; Jones and Wyant, 2007; Landenberger and Lipsey, 2005; Latimer, 2001; Lipsey, 1999; Lipsey and Wilson, 1998; Lipsey and Cullen, 2007; Loeber and Farrington, 1998; Lösel and Schmucker, 2005; MacKenzie, 2002; Ward and Maruna, 2007; Webster, 2004), and other sections of the report (specifically deterrence and incarceration/incapacitation), there are some common themes that can be extrapolated in terms of what works for rehabilitation. The following is a summary of what works and what doesn't in rehabilitation.

What is Effective:

- Targeting the changeable characteristics of offenders that are directly linked to offending, such as drug use, anti-social attitudes and behaviour, and poor anger management
- Programs that maintain high program integrity through adhering to original program design and monitoring program implementation and offering comprehensive training to staff
- Programs that adhere to the principles of risk, need and responsivity
- Community-based treatment, although this does not preclude success in correctional facilities as well

- Community residential programs for institutionalized offenders
- Teaching family homes within correctional settings
- Treatment that is delivered by service providers other than criminal justice personnel
- Cognitive-behavioural approaches
- Individual counselling, group counselling and guided group therapy
- Family therapy
- Multi-systemic therapy (MST)
- Inter-personal skills training
- Programs that are longer than six months but, at the same time, have reduced contact hours for youth being treated in the community
- Programs that have been well established (i.e., that have been in existence for more than two years)

What Doesn't Work:

- Deterrence-based strategies such as boot camps and Scared Straight
- Incapacitation without treatment
- Early release probation and parole
- Programs that have been implemented poorly
- Mixing high- and low-risk offenders together
- Wilderness challenge programs and other programs that are lacking in theoretical grounding
- Milieu therapy (where the program environment is intended to be therapeutic)

- Vocational training
- Home confinement
- Unstructured or vague individual counselling
- Intensive supervision programs without a treatment component
- Restitution programs without a treatment component
- Transfer to adult court and adult institutions
- Token economies (where chores and good behaviour earn privileges and rewards)
- Drug treatment programs within institutionalized settings
- Employment-related programs among institutionalized youth

Guiding Questions for Future Research

- What are the net effects of incarceration on treatment outcomes?
- What are the interaction effects of multiple treatments working together?
- What works for female offenders?
- What are the defining features in the process of change? What are the key components among the programs that have been shown to "work"?
- What do offenders want and how can this be used to add to knowledge of effective treatment?
- Are there other effective programs in operation? Set up evaluation on operating and upcoming treatment models.

Conclusion

The rehabilitation debate – arguments about whether or not rehabilitation works – has been the focus of rehabilitation research for more than 30 years. The research has undoubtedly supported the notion that, yes, rehabilitation does work. Moreover, it works better than doing nothing when youth are incarcerated and it works better than deterrence-based strategies. In other words, rehabilitation works better than many of the programs and ideals that are rampant in corrections to date. While deterrence-based strategies may appease the public's "get tough" sentiment, they do not satisfy the public's desire to rehabilitate offenders, especially their heightened desire to rehabilitate youth.

Classic meta-analytical studies have provided a foundation for contemporary researchers to build on and fill in the gaps in knowledge. Since the general questions about the effectiveness of rehabilitation have been answered, it is now time to turn to the particulars of rehabilitation to determine what the ideal circumstances are for effective treatment.

It is important to note that rehabilitation is not the only relevant crime prevention strategy. Preventing crime can begin much earlier than when there needs to be a response to offending youth. On the front end, prevention of offending behaviour can be accomplished by addressing communities and ensuring that the welfare of all Ontarians is provided for (health care, education, employment opportunities, equal treatment, etc.). On the back end, rehabilitation needs to address individual needs within the setting of "real life" or in the community. In both cases, this requires the cooperation of service providers such as mental health, corrections, enforcement and education. The programs discussed herein call for input from mental health professionals, academics, schools and families. Effective coordination across service sectors is imperative. "Research into service delivery needs to advance our understanding regarding what the most effective means are to provide such cross-sectoral services" (Leschied, 2007: 44).

Policy-makers must be mindful that rehabilitation efforts do not appear inconsistent or unfair in any way. There is fine balance between addressing the needs of a youthful offender and imposing sanctions that can be seen as disproportionately punitive. The Youth Criminal Justice Act prescribes that responses to youth crime must be proportionate in terms of the current offence (i.e., youth may not be punished more severely for being repeat offenders). This is a tough challenge. Collaboration between service providers may be able to help the youth justice system adhere to the principles of the Youth Criminal Justice Act by referring treatment decisions to other sectors.

Finally, the most important lesson learned from a review of the vast literature on rehabilitation is that the key to providing adequate service is to base interventions on evidence-based practices and continuously evaluate the effects of these treatments. It is recommended that when implementing a new program, funding be built in and dependent on a rigorous evaluation process that involves a pre-test/post-test research design and randomization wherever possible.[11] Mandated evaluation strategies will enable program developers to understand what works and what doesn't while changes can be made. Follow up studies are also needed in order to understand the long-term effects of rehabilitative treatment. From a policy perspective, evaluation requirements enable government funding agencies to understand whether or not they are spending their money wisely. To this end, programs can foster scientific support, instead of hype or rhetoric being used to "sell" specific programs. Most importantly, high-quality evaluation research will measure and contribute to assurances that treatment interventions are making a positive impact on the lives of youth – or provide good reason to amend programs that are not helping youth live up to their potential.

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[11] Participation from decision-makers will be imperative in being able to randomly assign youth to one program over another.

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Early Childhood Development Strategies

In recent years, criminologists have begun to recognize what has long been known in the field of medicine: prevention is better than cure. Medical experts widely agree that the key to preventing serious health problems lies with the identification of key risk factors. For example, poor diet, smoking, and lack of physical exercise have all been identified as significant risk factors for heart disease, cancer, and stroke. It has also been shown that the extent of these risk factors in a given population can be reduced by public education campaigns designed to improve diet, stop smoking and increase physical activity. The goal of this chapter is to briefly outline what is known about early risk factors for violent offending and identify effective prevention strategies that can be used to address these risk factors.

After a half-century of research, criminologists now know a great deal about the early childhood risk factors associated with adolescent delinquency and later adult offending (see Farrington and Welsh, 2007; Welsh and Farrington, 2007; Sherman et al., 2006; Farrington and Welsh, 2006; Greenwood, 2006). This chapter deals with early childhood risk factors at both the family and individual level of analysis. For example, one of the strongest family characteristics associated with violent criminal offending is having a criminal or violent parent. Other family-related risk factors include poor parenting or child-rearing skills, inadequate parental supervision, inconsistent or harsh disciplinary practices, parental conflict, and parental disruption (see reviews in Farrington and Welsh, 2007; Seigel and McCormick, 2006). On the other hand, among the most important individual-level factors that predict violent offending are poor social skills, impulsiveness, poor anger management skills, lack of empathy, low intelligence and poor school performance (see Atkins, 2007; Edens et al., 2007; Englander, 2007; Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004; Pratt el al., 2002; Lipsey and Derzon, 1998; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Researchers also acknowledge that risk factors at the family level (i.e., poor parental supervision) may cause or enhance risk factors at the individual level (see Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). In the following sections, we highlight programs that have been proven to effectively address risk factors at both the family level (home visitation strategies, parental training, etc.) and the individual level (early intervention strategies, social skills training, pre-school intellectual development, etc.).[12]

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[12] *Farrington and Welsh (2007) also recognize that both schools and the wider community can be locations for effective childhood programming. However, in this report, school and community programs are discussed in other chapters.*

Family-Based Prevention

In a recent newspaper interview, Dr. Fraser Mustard, a distinguished scholar and famous early child development advocate, stated that, "If you want a highly competent population with limited behaviour problems and no violence, then you don't have any choice but to invest in early childhood development…. Since parents have the dominant effect on a child, you want to make damn certain you give parents every opportunity to be good" (Rushoway, 2007: A1). Mustard's claims are supported by a growing body of criminological research that demonstrates that family-based programs targeting early childhood development are effective in preventing subsequent youth delinquency and adult criminality (see reviews in Farrington and Welsh, 2007; Welsh and Farrington, 2007; Bilukha et al., 2005; Bernazzi and Tremblay, 2006; Greenwood 2006; Farrington and Welsh, 2003; Kumpfer and Alvarado, 2003). In this section, we discuss two major types of family-based programming: 1) general parent education (including home visitation programs); and 2) parent management training.

Home Visitation Programs

The research literature has identified the first two to four years of life as crucial to childhood development. Infants and young children who do not receive proper parenting or care during this period are at much higher risk of developing various health and behavioural problems, including criminality and aggression. A large number of home visitation programs have thus been developed to provide "at-risk" mothers (usually defined as young, single and poor) with intensive, in-home training with respect to prenatal health, infant nutrition and parenting skills. Many of these programs also provide temporary childcare, and counselling for young mothers with respect to future pregnancies, child abuse, and employment opportunities (see Greenwood, 2006).

The primary objective of most home visitation programs is to educate new parents on how to improve the life chances of their children from a very young age, often beginning in the final trimester of pregnancy. Important goals include the prevention of pre-term births, the prevention of low-birth weights, the promotion of healthy child development, the prevention of child abuse and neglect, and the promotion of school readiness (Farrington and Welsh, 2007).

Some home visitation programs also focus on improving parental well-being by linking parents to various community services that may assist them with their employment, educational and health needs. As stated by Gomby, Culross and Behrman (1999: 5), home visitation programs can help professionals "understand the environments in which families live, gain a better understanding of the families' needs, and therefore tailor services to meet those needs. The relationships forged between home visitors and parents can break through loneliness and isolation and serve as the first step in linking families to their communities."

A number of longitudinal studies have demonstrated that, compared with control group subjects, children who participate in home visitation programs are less likely to engage in serious violence and criminality in adolescence (see reviews in Farrington and Welsh, 2007; Welsh and Farrington, 2007; Greenwood, 2006; Bilukha et al., 2005). For example, in a major meta-analysis of different crime prevention strategies, Farrington and Welsh (2003) found that, compared with control group subjects, children involved in home visitation programs were much less likely to exhibit deviant or anti-social behaviour. Biluka and his colleagues (2005) also carried out a systemic review of the role of early childhood visitation programs in preventing adolescent violence. These researchers found that three of the four home visitation programs they examined produced desirable effects (also see reviews in Bernazzani and Tremblay, 2006; Greenwood, 2006).

Research suggests that intensive, highly structured nurse visitation programs are the most effective type of program in this category. However, less-intense programs, often involving social workers or other health-care professionals, have also shown considerable success (see Greenwood 2006). One example of an effectively evaluated nurse visitation program is the Prenatal/Early Intervention Project (PEI).[13]

The Prenatal/Early Intervention Project (PEI) was developed by David Olds and his colleagues and implemented in Elmira, New York (Olds et al., 1998). The program initially enrolled 400 women prior to their 13th week of pregnancy. Program participants had to be first-time mothers (no previous live births) and either unmarried, less than 19 years of age, or poor (characteristics commonly associated with poor parenting during early childhood). The participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups: 1) a group that received home visits from a trained nurse during pregnancy; 2) a group that received home visits during pregnancy and the first two years of the child's life; and 3) a control group that did not receive any home visits at all. Each home visit lasted approximately two hours and mothers were visited once every two weeks. The nurses who conducted the home visits gave advice about prenatal and postnatal care, provided training in infant development and child nutrition, and provided lessons on the importance of avoiding alcohol and smoking during pregnancy (Olds et al., 1998).

After two years, the results of the experiment indicated that home visits caused a significant decrease in both child physical abuse and child neglect (Old et al., 1998). This result is important because other studies suggest that children who are abused or neglected are much more likely to engage in serious violence later in life (see Widom, 1989). Indeed, the results of a 15-year follow-up (which included 315 of the original 400 children) found that the children of the treatment mothers were much less likely to have engaged in adolescent violence and were significantly less likely to have been arrested (see Olds et al., 1998). Importantly, two separate cost-benefit analyses have demonstrated that the taxpayer savings associated with this program are three to four times greater than program costs (see Greenwood, 2006; Aos et al., 2004).

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[13] *It is important to note that this program has recently been renamed the Nurse-Family Partnership Program (NFP).*

In order to test the generalizability of the results of the Elmira study, the PEI program has been renamed the Nurse Family Partnership and is currently being replicated in both Memphis, Tennessee and Denver, Colorado. Early evaluation results suggest that home visits continue to cause significant improvements on a wide range of outcome variables for both nurse-visited mothers and their children (see Olds et al., 2004). According to Greenwood (2006: 54), the Nurse Family Partnership has now been accepted as a "proven" crime prevention model and there are plans to replicate the program throughout the United States and Great Britain.

Parental Education Plus Daycare

A number of scholars have identified programs that combine parent education with daycare services as "promising" with respect to preventing crime and violence (Greenwood, 2006; Farrington and Welsh, 2007). As with home visitation programs, the parent-training component focuses on teaching parents proper child-rearing techniques and methods for enhancing early childhood development. As discussed by Farrington and Welsh (2007: 125), daycare services must be distinguished from specific intellectual enrichment programs (discussed below). Indeed, unlike intellectual enrichment strategies, daycare is not necessarily focused on preparing children for elementary school. Daycare programs are often only intended to provide basic care for children so that parents can return to work or school. However, research does suggest that, under ideal circumstances, daycare can provide children with a number of important benefits, including improved social, cognitive, sensory and motor skills (see Michel, 1999).

In their meta-analysis, Farrington and Welsh (2003) found that parent education programs that include daycare services can be effective in preventing child anti-social behaviour and adolescent delinquency. According to the research literature, one of the most effective "parent education plus daycare programs" is the Syracuse University Family Development Project (see Lally et al., 1988). This project attempted to improve family and child functioning through a comprehensive parent-training program that also provided daycare services. The program began with a sample of unmarried, poor, pregnant women from Syracuse, New York – most of who were of African-American heritage. The program provided these women with weekly training and assistance with respect to parenting skills, health, nutrition, child discipline and other child-related issues. In addition, their children received free, full-time daycare (designed to increase their child's intellectual abilities) up to five years of age.

The final experimental group consisted of 82 children. The matched control group consisted of 74 children. These children were followed up to age 15. Importantly, the evaluation results suggest that the strongest program effects were on delinquency. For example, by 15 years of age, only two per cent of the children who had been enrolled in the program had been referred to the juvenile court for criminal offences, compared with 17 per cent of the children in the control group. Additional results suggest that the seriousness of offending was also much higher among those children who did not receive the program. Interestingly, female children in the experimental group also showed better academic performance and school attendance. Male participants, for some reason, did not reap these additional program benefits (see Lally et al., 1988).

One possible drawback of this program is cost. Indeed, providing free, full-time daycare can be quite expensive. One study, for example, found that the costs of running the program exceeded program benefits by a margin of three to one (Aos et al., 2001). However, as noted by Farrington and Welsh (2007; 131), this particular study only considered savings with respect to involvement in the criminal justice system. It did not consider other cost benefits, including parental employment and other aspects of child development.

Parent Management Training

Criminological research indicates that long-term, chronic offenders often manifest aggressive, anti-social behaviours in early childhood. As a result, a number of early intervention strategies – including Parent Management Training – have been developed to help families identify and deal with young children who display problematic behaviours. Parent Management Training refers to a range of treatment procedures in which parents are trained to alter their child's behaviour within the home environment. Early research (see Patterson, 1982) demonstrated that the parents of violent, anti-social children were often poor parents. These parents often failed to properly communicate behavioural standards to their children, failed to properly monitor or supervise their children's behaviours, failed to reward their children for pro-social behaviour, and failed enforce rules promptly and consistently (Patterson et al., 1992).

Parent management training commonly involves lessons – usually delivered in a group setting – on effective child-rearing practices. These lessons include how to observe what a child is doing, how to monitor behaviour over long periods, how to clearly state house rules, how to enforce rules promptly and consistently, how to make rewards and punishments contingent on behaviour, and how to negotiate disagreements so that conflicts do not escalate. A number of high-quality evaluations suggest that, when properly delivered, parent management training programs can significantly reduce adolescent delinquency and anti-social behaviour. For example, in their meta-analysis, Farrington and Welsh (2003) found that, on average, parent management training reduced adolescent delinquency by 20 per cent (compared with control group subjects). Indeed, Farrington and Welsh (2007: 127) conclude that only multi-systemic therapy (discussed at length in Chapter Five of this report) appears to be more effective at preventing crime than parent management training (for similar conclusions see Duncan and Magnuson, 2004 and Kazdin, 1997).

The Preventative Treatment Program (PTP), developed in Montreal by Professor Richard Tremblay and his colleagues, is a specific example of an effective early intervention strategy that utilizes the basic principles of parent management training. PTP targets boys, ages seven through nine, who have been assessed as having high levels of disruptive behaviour in kindergarten. The program involves home-based parent training with school-based social skills training. Parents receive an average of 17 training sessions that focus on monitoring their children's behaviour, giving positive feedback for pro-social behaviour, using punishment effectively and managing family conflicts. The boys receive an average of 20 sessions aimed at improving social skills, developing self-control and learning how to manage interpersonal conflicts. At age 12, boys who received PTP were significantly less likely to manifest both delinquent and violent behaviours than control group subjects were. At age 15, those receiving the PTP intervention were significantly less likely than untreated boys were to report gang involvement, drug and alcohol use, criminal behaviour, fighting and having friends arrested by the police (Tremblay et al., 1996).

Another example of an effective early intervention strategy is the Incredible Years Series (IYS). IYS targets children, ages two to ten, who demonstrate high rates of aggression, defiance or oppositional/impulsive disorders. IYS is a set of three comprehensive, developmentally based curriculums for parents, teachers and children. They are designed to promote emotional and social competence and treat behavioural problems. The Incredible Years for Parents has three different components. The Basic parent series is the core of the program and is essential for effective program delivery. The other parent, teacher and child components are highly recommended. The Basic program emphasizes parenting skills known to promote children's social competence and reduce problem behaviours (i.e., how to play with children, how to help children learn, how to provide effective praise, how to use incentives, how to set rules, how to discipline children effectively, etc.). The Advance program (the second component of the parent training series) emphasizes parental social skills (i.e., effective communication skills, anger management, problem-solving between adults, etc.). The Supporting Your Child's Education component of the program teaches parents how to promote their children's academic skills (i.e., how to set goals, how to assist with homework, how to cooperate with teachers, etc.). The Incredible Years for Teachers module focuses on the development of effective class management skills, including the effective use of praise and encouragement, managing inappropriate classroom behaviour, how to teach empathy, and how to build positive relationships with students. Finally, the Incredible Years for Children provides children training in emotional literacy, empathy, friendship skills, anger management, interpersonal problem solving and how to be successful in school. Multiple randomized control group evaluations of the IYS approach have documented a reduction in childhood aggression and a reduction in conduct problems at both home and school. Evaluations have also documented improvements in children's cognitive problem-solving abilities and anger management and social skills (see Webster-Stratton, 2001; Greenwood, 2006).

Functional Family Therapy (FFT) is an intervention program that targets the parents of older youth, 11 to 18 years of age, at risk of or already demonstrating signs of delinquency, violence, substance abuse, conduct disorder, defiant disorder, or disruptive behaviour disorder. As described by Greenwood (2006: 70-71), FFT focuses on "altering interactions between family members, and seeks to improve the functioning of the family unit by honing the family's skills at problem solving, enhancing emotional connections between family members, and strengthening parental ability to provide appropriate structure, guidance, and limits to their children."

FFT typically requires between eight and 26 sessions of direct service time for referred youth and their parents. The number of sessions required largely depends on the severity of the individual case. Service delivery is flexible and depends on individual needs. Services are generally delivered by a two-person team and can include specially trained teachers, social workers, counsellors, mental health professionals, and probation officers. Clients can receive services within the home as well as in clinics, schools, juvenile correctional facilities, community centres, or at the time of re-entry from institutional placement (Alexander et al., 1998).

The success of FFT stems from its ability to enhance protective factors and reduce exposure to risk. The program is also known for efforts to prevent early treatment termination. FFT involves five basic steps or phases that build upon on another. These steps include: 1) *Engagement* (designed to prevent youth and their parents from dropping out of treatment early); 2) *Motivation* (designed to change maladaptive emotional reactions and beliefs and increase alliance, trust, hope, and lasting change); 3) *Assessment* (designed to clarify individual, parental, and outside relationships and how they contribute to problematic behaviours); 4) *Behaviour Change* (provides training in communication skills, parenting skills, problem-solving, anger management and conflict resolution) and 5) *Generalization* (during which case management strategies are developed based on family functional needs, community-based environmental constraints and the available resources provided by FFT therapists (Alexander et al., 1998).

A number of high-quality randomized trials of FFT have demonstrated that it is effective in reducing youth delinquency and violence, drug use, conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, and disruptive behaviour disorder. Furthermore, compared with control group subjects, FFT participants are less likely to graduate into more restrictive social services (i.e., youth custody, group homes, foster care, etc.) and are significantly less likely to become involved in the adult criminal justice system (see Greenwood, 2006; Alexander et al., 1998).

Individual Prevention

Individual-based prevention programs target risk factors identified through interactions with specific children. As discussed above, these risk factors include impulsivity, lack of empathy, hyperactivity, low intelligence and low academic attainment. Unlike family-based prevention strategies, which frequently target the behaviour of both parents and children, individual-based programs most often focus exclusively on the behaviour of individual children (Duncan and Magnuson, 2004). However, it should be noted that several successful individual intervention programs also help parents develop the skills they require to deal with their children's behavioral problems.

Rigorous evaluation studies have identified two types of individual-based programs – preschool intellectual enrichment programs and child skills training – that are effective in preventing future adolescent delinquency and adult criminality (Losel and Beelmann, 2003; Farrington and Welsh, 2003; Currie, 2001). These major program types are outlined briefly in the next two sections.

Preschool Intellectual Enrichment

Preschool intellectual enrichment programs are designed to provide economically disadvantaged children with cognitively stimulating and enriching experiences that are not likely be provided in the home environment. School readiness, improved cognitive skills, improved social skills, improved self-control and emotional development are typically the main goals of these programs. Such programs – often delivered in a daycare setting – focus on providing developmentally appropriate learning curricula, a wide array of cognitive-based activities and training opportunities for parents so that they can better support school activities at home (see Currie, 2001; Duncan and Magnuson, 2004).

A large number of studies have demonstrated that preschool intellectual development programs can significantly reduce anti-social behaviour, adolescent delinquency and adult criminality. For example, a meta-analysis conducted by Farrington and Welsh (2003) found that programs that provided preschool intellectual enrichment for young children reduced future criminal offending by 16 per cent

One of the most well-known programs in this category is the Perry Preschool Project. This program targets economically disadvantaged families with children three to four years of age. The project involves an intensive two-year intervention that operates two to three hours per day, five days a week. As well as a daily preschool classroom component, the program also involves home visitations by highly trained teachers. The primary objective of the program is to provide intellectual stimulation for young children, to improve thinking and reasoning abilities and to ultimately increase future academic achievement (see Schweinhart et al., 2005).

Evaluations of the Perry program have demonstrated that, compared with control group subjects, Perry School participants have much lower levels of adolescent delinquency, less contact with juvenile justice officials, fewer arrests at 19 years of age, less involvement in serious fights, less involvement in youth gangs and less contact with the police. Long-term results indicate that, by 40 years of age, Perry School participants have fewer arrests for both violent and property crimes, higher levels of academic achievement, higher rates of employment, higher mean incomes, greater economic independence, and less reliance on public assistance (Schweinhart et al., 2005). Furthermore, a cost-benefit analysis (conducted when participants were 40 years of age) found that the Perry Pre-School project produced $17 in taxpayer savings for every dollar of program cost. Savings were predicted with respect to the costs of criminal justice system, education, welfare and increased tax revenue (see Schweinhart et al., 2005).

The Child-Parent Centre (CPC) in Chicago is a second pre-school intellectual enrichment program that has been shown to reduce delinquency and violence later in life. The CPC provides economically disadvantaged children, starting at three years of age, with a high-quality, active learning preschool environment. The program also provides family supports. Importantly, unlike the Perry Preschool Project, CPC continues to provide intellectual enrichment activities to participants up to nine years of age. In order to evaluate this program, children who were enrolled in the CPC were matched with children who received regular preschool. The original evaluation sample included 989 children in the experimental group and 550 in the control group. Compared with the control group, evaluation results revealed that, by eighteen years of age, CPC participants were significantly less likely to be arrested for any offence, less likely to be arrested for multiple offences and less likely to be arrested for violent offences. The CPC program also produced a number of additional benefits for participants – including a significantly higher rate of high school completion than control group subjects achieved. A cost-benefit analysis of the CPC program (conducted when participants were 21 years of age), found that every dollar spent on the program produced seven dollars in savings for society. These savings were calculated in terms of averted government expenditures on remedial education and the criminal justice system and in the increased economic well-being of program participants (see Reynolds et al., 2003).

A third example of a successful pre-school intellectual enrichment program is the Carolina Abecedarian Project (CAP). This program also targeted economically disadvantaged children born into multi-risk families. At the beginning of the program, a sample of 111 children, three years of age, were assigned to the program or to a control group. Children in the CAP program received full-time pre-school childcare that focused on the development of cognitive, social and language skills. At age 21, 104 of the original 111 children in the evaluation study (94 per cent) were interviewed. The results found that, compared with the control group, CAP participants were less likely to have been convicted of a crime, less likely to have been incarcerated, less likely to be regular users of illicit drugs and less likely to have become teenage parents. On the other hand, compared with the control group, CAP participants were significantly more likely to have attended university and were significantly more likely to have high status jobs. A cost-benefit analysis of this program found that for every dollar spent on the program, four dollars was saved by society (see Masse and Barnett, 2002).

Child Social Skills Training[14]

Child social skills training programs typically target the risk factors of impulsivity, low empathy and self-centredness. Such programs are designed to "directly teach children social, emotional and cognitive competence by addressing the appropriate social skills, effective problem solving, anger management, and emotion language" (Webster-Stratton and Taylor, 2001: 178). Programs are usually highly structured and delivered over a relatively short period of time (Farrington and Welsh, 2007).

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[14] *It should be noted that many child social skills training programs are school-based. Thus, several of the programs discussed in this section are also discussed in Chapter Seven of this report (the chapter that focuses on school-based initiatives.*

One major review of the impact of child social skills training programs on anti-social behaviour (including youth delinquency) examined the results of 144 different studies that provided experimental group-control group comparisons (see Losel and Beelmann, 2006; Losel and Beelmann, 2003). This meta-analysis found that almost half of these social skills programs significantly reduced adolescent criminal behaviour (compared with control group participants). On the other hand, only 10 per cent produced negative results (i.e., the control group scored better than the experimental group). This review also found that effective social skills training courses tended to use a cognitive-behavioural approach (see detailed discussion in Chapter Five of this report) and were implemented with older children (over 13 years of age) or with high-risk children who were already exhibiting behavioural problems (see Losel and Beelmann, 2006).

Life Skills Training (LST) is one example of a social skills training program than has been shown to reduce delinquency and violence among youth. LST is a school intervention program that targets students in grades six through eight. The primary objectives of LST include the provision of prevention-related information regarding drug use and criminality, the promotion of anti-drug norms, the development of drug refusal skills, and the development of self-management abilities (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

LST is a three-year intervention strategy implemented in the classroom by teachers or trained health professionals. The program involves 15 classroom sessions in year one, 10 sessions in year two and five sessions in year three. The program consists of three major components: 1) general self-management skills; 2) social skills; and 3) information and skills specifically related to drug use. The self-management module teaches students to examine their self-image, gain insight about their own talents and limitations, set goals for the future, track personal progress, confront personal challenges, and react to problem situations. The general social skills module teaches students how to overcome shyness, gain communication skills, develop assertiveness, learn anger management techniques and realize that aggression is not the only strategy for dealing with problem situations. Finally, the drug resistance module teaches students about common misconceptions about drugs and alcohol. Additionally, students learn and practice various techniques that can help them resist social pressures to use drugs. Throughout the program, skills are taught using such training techniques as basic instruction, demonstration, feedback, reinforcement, role-playing and practice (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

LST has been evaluated numerous times over the past 25 years. Large-scale randomized trials have consistently demonstrated that, compared with control group subjects, LST participants have lower rates of tobacco, alcohol, and illicit drug use and significantly lower levels of delinquency and violent behaviour. Further analysis of LST outcomes also reveals sustained positive results at one year, three years, and six years following program participation. Finally, although originally developed as a program for middle-aged Caucasian children, the efficacy of LST has also been demonstrated among inner-city, economically disadvantaged ethnic populations. In other words, it appears that LST is transferable to various types of communities and neighbourhoods (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

A second example of a successful social skills training program – Participate and Learn Skills (PALS) – was developed and implemented in Ottawa. PALS focused on the development of both sports-related skills and non-athletic skills. The objective was for youth to develop non-academic skills that would serve to increase self-esteem and promote pro-social abilities and role models. Implemented in a public housing development, PALS recruited low-income residents, five to 15 years of age, to participate in various after-school sports, arts and recreational activities. A different housing project, one that did not receive this program, served as a control group. There were 417 children in the experimental site and 488 in the control group location (Jones and Offord, 1989).

Evaluation results indicate that PALS was successful – particularly at reducing rates of juvenile delinquency. Indeed, during the first 32 months of operation, the police charged 80 per cent fewer youths with a crime in the experimental site than in the control site. Positive gains were also documented with respect to skill acquisition, self-esteem and social interactions with same-age peers. A cost-benefit analysis also revealed that for every dollar spent on the PALS program, $2.60 was saved by society (see Greenwood, 2006; Jones and Offord, 1989).

Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) provides a second example of a social skills training program that has shown positive results with respect to reducing youth delinquency. PATHS is a school-based program to be delivered in a classroom setting. Ideally it should be initiated at the beginning of elementary school (grade one) and continue through grade five. Although primarily focused on the school and classroom settings, information and activities are often included for parents. The PATHS curriculum is taught three times per week for a 20- to 30-minute period. It provides teachers with developmentally based lessons for teaching students emotional literacy, self-control, verbal communication skills, empathy, problem-solving, controlling impulses, self-awareness, social competence, positive peer relations and interpersonal problem-solving skills. Teachers receive training in a two- to three-day workshop. They receive additional training and support through biweekly meetings with a curriculum consultant (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

A number of high-quality evaluation efforts have established that, compared with control group subjects, PATHS participants demonstrate improved self-control, increased ability to tolerate frustration, improved thinking and planning skills, the effective use of conflict resolution strategies, decreased school conduct problems, and lower levels of violence and aggression. The program has been proven effective in a number of different settings and with children from different social class and ethnic backgrounds (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

A third example of a promising social skills program is Stop Now and Plan (SNAP). SNAP is a community-based program for pre-adolescent children who have come into contact with or are at risk of coming into contact with the criminal justice system. The National Crime Prevention Centre (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007) has identified this strategy as a model program. SNAP targets children, aged six to 12 years, who display early signs of anti-social or aggressive behaviour. The program employs basic behaviour modification techniques to decrease the risks of future violent and/or criminal behaviour. The program has two learning modules – one for children and one for parents. The core program consists of 10 sessions that are delivered over a 12-week period. Each session is approximately 90 minutes in length. For children at a particularly high risk of developing problem behaviours, an additional three program components are available. These three components focus on in-home family counselling. In the youth course, aggressive behavioural tendencies are altered through various behaviour management strategies, role-playing, problem-solving exercises, generalization activities and social reinforcements. The adult learning module teaches parents how to establish rules against anti-social or aggressive behaviour and effectively discipline rule violations. The program also teaches parents important problem-solving and monitoring skills. SNAP attempts to teach parents and other adult role models (i.e., teachers) the same skills that the child is learning in order to ensure consistency in the treatment of children between the school and home environments (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

Evaluation results demonstrate that SNAP is effective for dealing with children with conduct problems. Randomized trials, for example, have shown that children who participate in the program are twice as likely to avoid a criminal record than control group subjects are. Parents who participate in SNAP also report greater confidence in their ability to raise a child and experience less stress during parent-child interactions. Finally, SNAP appears to work with children and parents from various cultural and racial backgrounds as well as youth from both economically advantaged and disadvantaged communities. One possible drawback, however, is cost. It is estimated that SNAP costs approximately $5,550 dollars per child per year (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers (LIFT) is a 10-week, school-based intervention program focusing on the prevention of aggression and other conduct problems. LIFT is supposed to be delivered to the entire population of grades one and five students. However, it is especially designed for children living in economically disadvantaged, high-risk communities. LIFT is organized around three main components. To begin with, the classroom component contains of 20 one-hour sessions. Each session follows the same format and is composed of lecture and role-playing, structured group skills practice, skills review, and daily rewards. The second component is a modification of the Good Behaviour Game (GBG). Each class is divided into small groups for playground activities. Children can earn rewards by avoiding negative behaviours and exhibiting positive problem-solving skills. The third component is the parental training module. At this stage, parents are taught how to create a positive home environment that promotes proper supervision and disciplinary practices that reinforce the school-based curriculum. A high-quality evaluation of LIFT indicates positive results with respect to major program goals. Compared with a control group, LIFT participants demonstrated significant decreases in physical aggression on the playground. Interestingly, reductions in aggression were most pronounced for children who had rated the most aggressive during the pre-test period. Finally, compared with the control group, teacher-rating data indicates that LIFT participants had a significant increase in positive social skills and classroom behaviour (Eddy et al., 2000).

The Seattle Social Development Project (SSDP) is a multi-year, school-based program that targets elementary school and middle-school children residing in economically deprived neighbourhoods. SSDP provides both teacher and parent training. Teachers receive instruction that emphasizes proactive classroom management, interactive teaching and cooperative learning. These lessons are designed to minimize classroom disruptions by establishing clear rules and rewards for compliance. Teachers are also taught how to increase children's academic performance and how to allow students to work in small groups that will assist in the development of social skills. In addition, teachers are given training with respect to developing student communication skills, conflict resolution skills, problem-solving skills and drug refusal skills. During the same period, parents are given training in family management skills that will help them better monitor their children and provide appropriate and consistent discipline. Parents are also taught how to create a positive home learning environment and how to improve their children's academic performance. Evaluations of SSDP indicate that this program can improve school performance, improve the quality of family relationships and reduce childhood aggression. Furthermore, by grade 11, SSDP participants, compared with control group students, showed reduced involvement in violent delinquency and sexual activity and lower levels of both drug and alcohol consumption (Hawkins et al., 1999).

FAST track is another comprehensive, long-term prevention program that aims to prevent chronic behavioural problems among youth from disadvantaged communities. It is based on the view that anti-social and violent behaviour stems from multiple influences. The program therefore includes the school, the family and the individual in the intervention strategy. The program spans grades one through six and involves five major components.

Parent training occurs in the grade one and emphasizes how to improve children's academic performance, how to communicate effectively with the school, how to control anger and how to use discipline effectively. Home visitations occur biweekly to reinforce parenting skills, promote parents' feelings of efficacy and develop parents' problem-solving skills. Social skills training for students is designed to enhance children's cognitive and problem-solving skills, improve peer relations, develop self-control and promote friendship maintenance. Academic tutoring is also offered three times a week to improve students' reading abilities. Finally, a classroom intervention component utilizes the PATHS curriculum (discussed above) to develop students' emotional competency and self-control and foster a positive peer climate. FAST track also incorporates various home activities in order to ensure parental participation. Early evaluations of FAST track are quite positive. Compared with control group subjects, FAST track participants scored significantly higher on parental and teacher ratings of behaviour and displayed significantly less aggressive, disruptive, and oppositional behaviour in the classroom. Children in FAST track classrooms also nominated fewer peers as being aggressive. The parents of FAST track students were also less likely to endorse the physical punishment of their children and subsequently demonstrated more appropriate disciplinary techniques. Over all, the relationship between FAST track students and their parents seemed to be emotionally warmer and more supportive than the control group samples were (Greenwood, 2006; Conduct Problems Prevention Group, 1999).

Behavioural Monitoring and Reinforcement (BMRP) is another school-based intervention that has shown positive results among juvenile populations. BMRP targets students in grades seven and eight from low-income, urban, racially mixed neighbourhoods. The program is designed to challenge youth cynicism about the outside world and related feelings of hopelessness and alienation. BMRP promotes the development of school and home environments that help youth realize that their actions can bring about desired results. This task is accomplished by eliciting the participation of teachers, parents and the youth themselves. The two-year program begins in the grade seven and includes the monitoring of student actions, rewards for appropriate behaviour, and increasing the lines of communication between students, teachers, and parents. Program staff members check school records for daily attendance information, lateness and official disciplinary actions. They also contact parents regularly by letter, phone or home visits to inform them of their children's progress. Teachers submit weekly reports assessing the students' punctuality, preparedness and behaviour in the classroom. Students receive rewards for positive evaluations. Each week, students meet with staff members to discuss recent behaviours, learn the relationship between actions and their consequences, and role-play acceptable alternatives to problem behaviours. Students are also rewarded for refraining from disruptive behaviour during these meetings (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

Evaluations of BMRP have demonstrated both short- and long-term positive outcomes. Program participants, for example, have consistently demonstrated higher grades and better attendance than control group students have. Results from one-year follow-up studies have also shown that BMRP students, compared with control students, have significantly lower levels of delinquency, drug abuse, and school-related problems (suspensions, expulsions, absenteeism, academic failure, etc.). Finally, a five-year follow-up study found that, compared with control group subjects, BRMP participants were much less likely to have been arrested or convicted of a crime (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

Finally, it is important to note that many anti-bullying programs also fit into the "social skills training" category. Bullying is a form of interpersonal violence that can damage both victims and offenders. Research suggests that there is a positive correlation between bullying and more serious violence in later adolescence and early adulthood. In other words, reducing bullying may prevent the onset of more serious forms of violent behaviour. Many anti-bullying programs have been developed, but one stands out as a "proven" strategy: the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (BPP). BPP is a multi-component, universal, school-based program that aims to reduce and prevent bullying behaviour. It is designed to restructure the school environment to eliminate the opportunities and rewards that exist for bullying. BPP targets students in elementary, middle and junior high schools. Every student within the school participates. However, special interventions are developed for children who are either the victims or perpetrators of bullying. BPP has three main components. To begin with, the school-wide component involves the administration of a confidential student questionnaire to assess the extent and nature of bullying within a particular school, the development of a student-teacher conference to discuss bullying and plan interventions, the development of specific school rules against bullying, the formation of a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, and increased supervision of students at the times and locations where bullying is most likely to take place. Class-level interventions include classroom meetings about bullying and peer relations, the establishment and enforcement of class rules, and teacher meetings with both parents and students. Finally, individual-level interventions are created specifically for individual perpetrators and victims. These interventions often involve discussions between students, parents, teachers and counsellors. The program is supposed to be implemented for a minimum of one year. Several large evaluation studies have found that BPP causes a 30 per cent to 70 per cent reduction in bullying and bullying victimization. The program also reduces vandalism, alcohol use, fighting and theft. Additionally, the program has caused significant improvements in classroom order and more positive attitudes towards schoolwork (see Pepler et al., 2006; Olweus, 1993; Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2007).

Conclusion

The research evidence is clear: programs that target early childhood development can significantly reduce crime and violence in both adolescence and early adulthood. However, the academic literature also makes it clear that the benefits of early childhood development programs are by no means limited to crime and violence prevention. Indeed, effective programming that targets young children and their parents can also improve both physical and mental health, increase levels of academic achievement, increase employment prospects, increase yearly incomes, etc. In other words, early childhood development programs can greatly increase the quality of life for all citizens (see reviews in Haith and Benson, 2008; Chandler, 2008; McCain and Mustard, 1999; McCain and Mustard, 2002). Unfortunately, despite renewed spending at the municipal, provincial and federal levels, Canada still ranks last among developed nations in spending on early childhood development programs (see Rushoway, 2007).

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School-Based Strategies[15]

Introduction

Most of the school violence prevention strategies noted in this section make intuitive sense when one looks at the research identifying specific unsafe locations in the school, or the theoretical premises of situational crime prevention, or the anecdotal evidence from teachers, principals, and security experts. However, there is actually very little research that unequivocally and conclusively shows a positive relation between these target-hardening strategies and a reduction in school crimes. The connections shown in this literature are usually modified from the original hypotheses, negative correlations are inexplicably found, or additional untested questions surface.

The research that tends to support these environmental strategies are case studies that make it difficult to generalize beyond the individual school. Although the participants may have more of a vested interest in making their strategies "work" for the researchers, there is still a lot that can be learned from these studies. This research reveals, as does most of the sound research showing positive effects, that there is more going on inside the school than the simple addition of surveillance cameras, dress codes, metal detectors or security personnel. Indeed, when these strategies of formal social control do show positive effects, it is mainly because they are working in tandem with methods that promote informal mechanisms of social control and "softer" forms of violence prevention.

Some studies that promote these environmental strategies make methodological and theoretical leaps by making recommendations for the prevention of school violence with no empirical test as to what actual effect these strategies may have. In other words, the study will explore the context of violence in schools and recommend the use of metal detectors to alleviate the situation without testing to see what effect metal detectors would have on the observed problem. This type of study tends to suffer from the same issues that plague the public and the media: there is an underlying assumption that these strategies "work," while there exists very little research to support such conclusions.

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I have included suspension, expulsion and zero tolerance with this annotated bibliography because they involve the physical removal of "unsafe students." It is also commonly held that these policies work as deterrents (much like the other strategies in this bibliography) and researchers often link and/or conflate the idea of zero tolerance with environmental strategies of violence prevention in schools.

When reviewing this section, it is imperative to note that compared with violence prevention programs, there are very few rigorous experiments on these strategies. Skiba and Peterson (2000) only found four articles on these security measures being tested empirically with a well-designed study.

I did not review the areas of risk assessment and the criminal profiling of students and/or events of targeted violence because the literature is even sparser. It is largely empirically untested, and most researchers in this area strongly caution that violence cannot be formally or accurately predicted (Reddy et al., 2001). Furthermore, the number of actual instances of targeted school violence these strategies address is statistically quite rare, and exploring this area may promote a false conception of what type of violence it is imperative to prevent.

School Uniforms

There is very little methodologically sound research about the effect of school uniforms on student discipline, school climate and perceptions of safety. What research exists is often anecdotal or not peer-reviewed, or it contradicts the findings of previous research. The research that is more experimentally based is often criticized for lacking rigour and having an inability to completely isolate school uniform policies as the main variable in preventing school violence.

There is a high level of ambiguity in the evidence for or against uniforms, but the same evidence has also been interpreted in contradictory ways. The National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) began in 1988 to test the effects of school uniforms on substance use, behavioural problems, attendance and academic achievement. Brunsma and Rockquemore (1998) found that uniforms have no direct effects on substance use, behavioural problems, or attendance. Brunsma and Rockquemore (1998) actually found a negative correlation between uniforms and student achievement, which they could not explain.

Using the same data, Bodine (2003) argues that the results were misinterpreted in the original article, which actually showed a positive correlation between uniforms and achievement. Bodine (2003) also questions their sample size of n=30 schools out of 4,171 involved in the NELS. However, Brunsma and Rockquemore (2003) subsequently reaffirm their initial findings using a different and more detailed methodology.

While Bodine's (2003) point on the small sample size is a strong criticism, this exchange is interesting because neither paper points to any evidence that uniforms reduce violence or substance use. The thrust of Bodine's (2003) paper is to counter how quickly the media took up claims that uniforms do not work, even though the evidence was problematic, but it does not provide counterevidence concerning school violence and substance use.

The Long Beach Longitudinal Study is another research project exploring the effects of dress codes on a variety of school variables. While some articles report that this study shows that the evidence for how uniforms are successful in reducing school violence, the more consistent finding is that uniforms cannot be isolated as the main factor in making schools safer (Stanley, 1996; Brunsma and Rockquemore, 2003).

A uniform policy is usually connected to increasing the *perceptions* of safety. In particular, staff working in a school with a uniform policy had better attitudes to their students (Gonzales, 2000). Stanley (1996) reached the similar conclusion that adults (teachers and parents) felt safer in a school with a uniform policy, although students themselves did not report feeling safer.

However, uniforms affect students and their perceptions quite differently. Wade and Stafford (2003) found that although teachers in schools with uniforms perceived significantly lower levels of gang presence, students did not report any differences. Furthermore, students in a school with a uniform policy reported significantly lower levels of self-perception and personal satisfaction. Thus, although dress codes may be a cheap strategy to consider in reducing school violence, despite mixed evidence on their effectiveness (Stanley, 1996), there are potentially detrimental effects on student's self-perceptions that are less studied in the literature.

While dress codes are increasingly being implemented predominantly to combat school violence and increase school safety (Workman and Freeburg, 2006), there are no strong findings to support this belief that school administrators have. In fact, the only consistent finding, that school uniforms increase adults' perceptions of school safety, may explain why dress codes are being continually adopted despite any sound evidence that uniform policies can be useful to prevent violence and make schools safer.

Uniform policies do seem to reduce the number of office referrals and expulsions (Bollinger, 2002; Stevenson, 1999), but this is not a consistent finding (Gonzales, 2000). Therefore, it is questionable whether the decrease in students' contact with school authorities is because the uniform policy is improving student behaviour or whether this reduction is because students are not wearing clothes that would initiate contact with school authorities and disciplinary procedures.

Situational Crime Prevention [SCP] Strategies

In this section, metal detectors, surveillance cameras and other target-hardening strategies such as access restriction have all been grouped together. As with dress codes, there is a dearth of methodologically sound research on these areas. Studies explored in this constellation often suggest that there needs to be a multifaceted approach to preventing school violence rather than seeing these strategies as a panacea.

Astor et al.'s (2001) research represents a body of literature that examines sub-contexts of offending in schools that suggests targeting specific areas to reduce school violence and crime. Unsafe locations in the schools have been found to be "undefined spaces" that are characterized by overcrowding or a lack of adult supervision (such as hallways, cafeterias, bathrooms and parking lots). Interestingly, Astor et al. (2000) found that grade six students in middle schools (grades six to eight) versus grade six students in elementary schools (kindergarten to grade six) were more likely to perceive particular sub-contexts as risky. The researchers suggest that this result was related to the larger size of middle schools and the more isolating behaviour displayed by teachers. Although these findings appear to call for the use of SCP strategies (surveillance cameras, increased natural surveillance, metal detectors, controlled use of access points) the research is only identifying "unsafe" spaces in schools rather than testing what solutions would have a positive effect on safety or violence prevention.

Kingery et al. (1999) studied the risk factors associated with carrying weapons to school and they found the most important factors were: the student wished to victimize others; the student was actively involved in gangs; the student perceived the possibility of being victimized by other weapon-carrying students; and weapon-carrying behaviour by the student's peers. However, we need to interrogate what the study actually shows, because we could be prone to making the conceptual leap that, because there are certain risk factors for bringing a gun to a school, the best reaction is that of target-hardening, when the actual effects of these strategies and technologies on students and violence prevention is not empirically tested by these researchers

SCP strategies do consistently show significant effects on the *perceptions* of safety. Garcia (2003) reports that the most common security technology schools used were cameras and recording devices, which were commonly seen as being a successful deterrent to violence. Less than half of schools with metal detectors believed they were effective in minimizing school violence (see also Heinen et al., 2006).

Some of these hardening strategies have been found to be detrimental to preventative efforts. For example, a positive relationship has been found between school uniforms and drug crimes, and also, having a closed-off campus and using metal detectors were associated with higher levels of interpersonal violence (Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch, 2005). While this particular study lacked controls and had a low response rate, the negative findings should modify the view that these SCP strategies can do no harm. Indeed, Mayer and Leone (1999) found that the higher a school was rated as a "secure building" by students, the more disorder there was in the school as measured by a subset of data collected from the 1995 School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey of interviews with students aged 12 to 19 in the United States (n=6,947).

Goldberg et al. (2003) specifically studied the deterrent effects of mandatory random drug testing of high schools students (athletes and non-athletes) by matching a school with the drug-testing policy with a control school. The first assessment, after 30 days, found that athletes in the drug-testing school had lower rates of illicit drug use and lower prevalence of performance-enhancing drugs. However, risk factors associated with drug use, such as the norms of use, the belief in a lower risk from drugs, and poorer attitudes to the school increased in athletes who were subject to random testing. Although athletes did change their levels of drug use, their attitudes towards drug use and the school remained unaffected at best, and at worst, were opposite to the intended effects of drug screening.

Three of the more comprehensive evaluations of multiple SCP strategies have been included in this literature review. First, O'Neill and McGloin (2007) note a lack of rigorously carried out research on the efficacy of situational crime prevention (SCP) strategies in schools compared with the literature on school-based programs to prevent crime. This study aimed at being a "first step" in addressing this void by employing a cross-sectional, nationally representative study of schools (n=2,270 surveys) to determine what tactics work to lower violent or property school crime.

The SCP techniques O'Neil and McGloin (2007) examined included: controlling access by locking doors; locking/monitoring gates to the grounds; having a closed campus at lunch times; mandating clear book bags or banning bags; requiring photo identification; passing students through metal detectors; random metal detector checks; surveillance cameras; and requiring students to wear uniforms. Some SCP tactics were related to school crime: schools with locked doors, which did not close the campus for lunch and had fewer classroom changes, tended to report less property crime. Schools that had fewer classroom changes also tended to report less violent crime. However, there were few SCP strategies that emerged as significant. Indeed, one of the most robust predictors of school violence was the *number of students in the school.*

The authors caution that no one should conclude that SCP does not work in schools because, they claim, schools may not be properly employing SCP strategies. However, the hypothesis that schools may not have a "proper" understanding of SCP and its implementation is untested speculation. These authors appear to have been operating under a fallacy by initially assuming that SCP works to reduce and prevent school crime. Although their study showed otherwise, they did not conclusively prove that SCP does not work. However, researchers should be approaching the issue of SCP and school crime prevention under the assumption that it is a connection that needs to be proven.

Wilcox et al. (2006) explored the relationship between school crime and "defensible space" by surveying Grade 7 students (n=3682) and teachers (n=1351) through a systematic observation of schools with sampled teachers and students (n=65), and by analyzing school census data from those schools. Specifically, the researchers tested the ecological models for understanding school crime and measured the variables of territoriality (signs of ownership of areas), natural surveillance of areas, and the image of the school (whether it was messy). Few significant effects from the physical environment were found when looking at student self-reported victimization and perceived safety. Teacher-reported measures of crime were significantly lower where there was increased hallway territoriality, more natural surveillance provided by the exterior grounds, and less school disorder. The researchers suggested that working on these areas (for example, reducing physical disorder) could enhance informal social controls and diminish serious conduct, although this link is speculative and seems contrary to their findings.

Schreck et al. (2003) studied the risk factors for high school students to be victims of theft or violent crime using data from a previous survey. In doing so, they assessed how school guardianship (guards, metal detectors, locked doors, visitor sign-in, restroom limits, supervised hallways, locker checks, hall passes, drug education, and corporal punishment) impacted on an individual's victimization within the school. They found that victimization risk levels were associated with the number of motivated offenders, students with delinquent characteristics, and the number of criminal associates. The researchers concluded that attempts to protect students using target-hardening tactics such as metal detectors and security guards were consistently unsuccessful at influencing risk of victimization. The one statistically significant finding related to environmental strategies was that schools with regular locker checks tended to experience more theft victimization.

All three of these more exhaustive experiments show the same results in that target-hardening strategies are not effective in preventing violence. However, two of the studies ultimately still argue for the use of specific SCP strategies because these strategies remain a salient way to solve problems of school violence. The literature on the broken windows thesis by Kelling and Coles (1996) seems to be quite similar. While there remains a lack of evidence that the strategy of policing broken windows in schools actually works to do anything but increase the perception that it is working, it is seen as something that governments and policy-makers have consistently believed to be sound policy.

Qualitative research and theoretically strong articles, which do not use the experimental method, have mainly argued that technologies and these "harder" strategies to prevent violence institutionalize mistrust and are negative motivational techniques which only serve to increase alienation and misbehaviour (Hyman and Perone, 1998; Kelly, 2003; Gallagher, 2007; Giroux, 2003; Casella, 2003). This body of literature notes that there is no empirical focus on what consequences these technologies have for young people growing up in environments of mistrust.

The more environmentally situated strategies, which are more promising for helping prevent school violence, seem to be related to a smaller school size (Neill and McGloin, 2007, Astor et al., 2000), and class size (Leung and Ferris, 2008) rather than to throwing security technologies at the problem of school violence. However, smaller schools do have consequences for lesbian, gay or bisexual students, who tend to report feeling safer in larger urban schools with lower than average safety ratings (Goodenow et al., 2006).

The Police, School Resource Officers, Security and Searches

For the purpose of this section Support Resource Officers (SROs), police officers, security guards and private police have all been grouped together. The role of the police in school suffers not only from a lack of sound studies but also from definitional issues about the role they should play in schools. There are many initiatives that police are involved with in schools that go beyond simply crime control, and their partnerships with schools are have focuses other than reacting to crime, but there is little evaluation on these multiple areas (Brown, 2006).

Similarly to the other research in this cluster of strategies, the role of SROs in schools provides the *perception* of a safer environment (Goggins et al., 1994; Travis and Coon, 2005). However, a survey of principals, teachers, and parents on perceptions also indicated that although SROs are perceived as a deterrent, they also contribute to the perception that a given school must be unsafe because they are present (Travis and Coon, 2005).

Clearly, another goal of having police officers posted in schools is to change the perceptions students have of the police. However, students see the police in schools as qualitatively different from the "regular" police force (Hopkins et al., 1992). Hopkins et al. (1992) evaluated the impact of school police officers on student views and attitudes about the police and student level of offending. The researchers compared the survey responses of students in high schools with a School Liaison Officer (SLO) to those without (total of n=1,245). Initially, attitudes to the police were marginally positive in schools with SLOs, but that finding diminished over the course of one year. The researchers found no evidence that the presence of SLOs slowed this decline of positive effects, or that the program affected student perceptions of the seriousness of offences or the likelihood of identification associated with crime. The researchers attribute this, in part, to the low reported rates of direct contact with the SLO. Students with an SLO thought positively of the SLO, but also saw them as distinct from the "police in general." Their view of the SLO had a direct impact on their liking of the police in general, but the study concluded that police officers in schools only have limited positive effects.

Brady et al. (2007) studied the effects of a police-school partnership program in New York City called Project Impact. This study collected data from all New York City public high school reports (which contain demographic and student performance data and a small set of environmental indicators such as overcrowding, police incidents and student suspensions) one year before program implementation and one and a half years later. A set of schools that implemented the program (n=10) was matched based on student body size and racial composition with schools not involved in the intervention (n=10). These two groups were also compared with all schools not involved in the program (n=200) and all New York City high schools (n=210). Despite increased police presence, students enrolled at these "impact schools" experienced higher than normal student suspensions and lower attendance rates than did their comparison group or other New York City public schools. The major crime rate did go down in impact schools, but these schools experienced a significant increase in non-criminal police incidents. The comparison group was not perfectly matched, however, as researchers noted that schools that were part of the Project Impact initiative tended to be more crowded, received less funding, and were more racially isolated.

Also, similarly to research on SCP strategies, there are more qualitative and ethnographic articles that point to many problems with introducing police into schools, from minor problems like the role of the police usurping the traditional disciplinary role of teachers to more major problems such as abuse and mistreatment (Devine, 1995; Travis and Coon, 2005). There are also concerns over the rights of students being infringed upon and not safeguarded by courts (Beger, 2002).

Suspensions, Expulsions and Zero Tolerance

Most of the research done on suspensions, expulsions, and zero tolerance policies and their effects on a safe school climate are from the United States. This can be partially attributed to the longer existence of zero tolerance policies in the United States. In comparison with Canada, the data on suspensions, expulsions, and race, class, and other demographic factors is more accessible and systematic in the U.S. The studies generally point out the ineffectiveness of these disciplinary mechanisms and the disproportionate way they are often applied. However, the studies on the efficacy or inefficacy of these practices suffer from not being truly experimentally based or controlled studies.

Atkins et al. (2002) provides one of the few more rigorous studies of the effects of disciplinary referrals. They broke the analysis of disciplinary referrals into three groups across three time periods (fall, spring, winter). Group one never received a suspension or a detention (n=117). Group two (the fall group) received one or more suspensions in the fall but not in the spring (n=62). Group three (the fall and spring group) received one or more suspensions or detentions in the fall and the spring (n=75).

During the fall, group two and three both had similar rates of referrals. During the winter and spring, the second group had lower rates than group three and started to approach the rates of referrals for the members of group one, who had never been formally disciplined. This finding seems to suggest that punishment can have some beneficial effects.

However, these beneficial effects seem limited to a specific group of students. The students in group three had an increase in referrals across the year. Group three was also rated by teachers and peers as more aggressive, lacking social skills, and more hyperactive. Interestingly, group one and two were similar on these measurements.

Convincingly, the researchers argue that for group three (the fall and spring group), referrals operated as a reward for both students (who could leave the classroom) and teachers (who had disruptive students leave their classroom). More qualitatively, the researchers found that detentions and suspensions were often used without considering alternatives, and this all suggests that, rather than expanding the use of zero tolerance policies, more support needs to be given to schools to effectively use disciplinary strategies.

A consistent finding among the literature is that zero tolerance policies result in marginalizing students who may already exist at the margins, such as students with learning disabilities, below average grades (Morrison and D'Incau, 1997), or developmental disabilities such as autism, African-American students (Skiba et al. 2002; Verdugo, 2002; Dunbar and Villarruel, 2004; Noguera, 1995), poor students (Skiba and

Peterson, 1999; Verdugo, 2002), Tamil and African-Canadian students in Ontario (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003) and Latino students (Noguera, 1995).

Zero tolerance, like much of the other strategies reviewed in this section (which can be viewed as a cluster of zero tolerance strategies in general) (Verdugo, 2002), can be counterproductive, inhibit learning, and actually create an environment of mistrust and resistance (Noguera, 1995; Giroux, 2003). Most offences that result in a suspension are not ones that actually threaten school safety (Skiba and Peterson, 1999; Skiba et al., 2002), suggesting that these policies may indeed be doing something other than helping to curb violence.

Zero tolerance policies are supposed to operate in a very cut and dried way, with minimal room for discretion and disparity. However, it is reported that there are still wide variations in disciplinary decisions found in zero tolerance regimes (Dunbar and Villarruel, 2004). This suggests that these policies still leave decision-makers with high levels of discretion, even though zero tolerance leaves the impression that they eliminate "grey areas."

Prevention Programs and "Soft" Techniques

There are different ways to categorize the various school-based violence prevention programs. I have called these strategies "soft techniques" because they can be contrasted with the target-hardening approaches reviewed above. As is the case with most of the literature on violence prevention in schools, there is much research that still needs to be conducted.

There are also some notable limitations in regard to the research and school-based violence prevention programs drawn on from this section:

1. Most studies are conducted on programs created by the very researchers studying them, which leaves open a possibility that they may only report successful results. There are few programs that are studied by outside researchers (Wilson et al., 2003; Wilson and Lipsey, 2007). Gorman and Conde (2007) studied "conflict of interest" in school-based drug prevention programs labelled as "model" by the National Registry of Effective and Promising Programs (NREPP). These researchers argue that there is not enough separation between program developer and program evaluator, which creates a higher potential for a conflict of interest. Indeed, Petrosino and Soydan (2005) found, while studying criminal justice programs, that when a program developer is involved in the evaluation, the results are more likely to be positive than when conducted independently. Furthermore,

the composition of the "expert panel" needs to be scrutinized, because Weiss et al. (2008) found that, for United States Department of Education, some members of this panel were program developers. Although these panellists did not make decisions on their own program, they still were involved in making decisions about other programs.

2. Research in this area may lend itself to a selection bias whereby only successes are published in peer-reviewed journals and studies reporting non-significant effects are not consistently reported (Ferguson et al., 2007). When this is factored in, Ferguson et al. (2007) have argued, although programs targeted at at-risk youth fare slightly better, anti-bullying programs actually produce little effect on students who participate in the interventions.

3. The programs considered "model" and "promising" by the Blueprints initiative do not conform to the same rigorous standards as non-school-based violence prevention interventions do. This is mainly because a true experimental design is logistically difficult to implement in a school setting. Weiss et al. (2008) have suggested that comparisons are not drawn with a true control group, but rather with a "sub-group" within the sample (such as high-risk compared with low-risk groups).

4. The programs that are model or promising programs also require only one successful replication of the results of the initial research. The lower threshold is driven, as the Blueprints initiative states, by the state of research in this area and is not desirable. The more generalized issue is that there is relatively sparse research on school-based violence prevention programs that is of a very high calibre, and very few long-term follow-ups are conducted beyond two years (Weiss et al., 2008).

5. There have been similar flaws identified in the United States Department of Education system of rating school-based interventions. It has been argued that the highest level given in this rating system, "exemplary," allows programs that have not been proven to be effective to receive positive rankings, and also, once programs are elevated to this status, there are no further rigorously conducted evaluations (Gorman, 2002). This is a potential concern to keep in mind when looking at the Blueprints programs.

These programs should not be necessarily viewed as "enough" for a strategy of violence prevention. This methodological issue forces more thought into which violence prevention initiative could work in a particular school (and community) and also encourages constant evaluation of violence prevention programs once they are implemented in practice.

Before reviewing some of the specific programs labelled as "model" or "promising," it is useful to provide a synopsis of some meta-analyses of school prevention programs. These meta-analyses provide a method of picking out some of the characteristics that successful programs share. I have also included reviews of the literature on school violence prevention, and although these do not have as rigorous a methodology as the meta-analyses do, they are also effective at drawing out some key characteristics of successful programs.

Wilson et al.'s (2003) original meta-analysis (subsequently updated) included 221 studies. The researchers continually point out that the majority of evaluations of school-based intervention programs consists of demonstration programs set up by the researcher, predominantly to determine the efficacy of the programs under experimental conditions. There are very few school-based initiatives they term "routine"; that is, implemented in schools on an ongoing basis and studied by the school or outside researchers. The purpose of this meta-analysis was to distinguish research-oriented demonstration programs (programs that are implemented mainly to be researched) from practice-oriented programs to assess effectiveness of intervention programs that are used on a regular basis in schools. A second purpose was to examine changes in aggressive behaviour over time periods as covered by the studies of school-based intervention programs. It also focused on changes in aggressive behaviour exclusive of other changes in attitudes and skills.

The researchers selected studies (n=221) that used an experimental or quasi-experimental design, with one or more control conditions that had pre- and post-test measures, or studies with a straight pre/post-test design. Most studies were conducted on demonstration programs, and the few studies on routine programs showed much smaller effects. There is little research on programs as they are actually implemented by schools. The effect of successful interventions was to reduce levels of aggression that were already present rather than to prevent potential increases in aggression. Therefore, these programs are most successful where aggression levels are already high (such as in higher-risk youth). Program effects did not vary with age, gender or ethnicity of samples. When the mean intervention effect sizes were adjusted for different types of programs (i.e., social competence training, behavioural and counselling approaches, academic programs, or peer mediation), the differences between effectiveness of strategies was small. This suggests that regardless of the type of school intervention used in violence prevention, interventions are more effective when they are well-implemented, intense, use one-on-one formats and are teacher-administered.

Wilson and Lipsey (2007) found in their meta-analysis of 249 experimental and quasi-experimental studies that the most effective (and also most popular) were universal programs for all students in a school or a classroom. Targeted programs for a selected population of children (such as "at-risk" students) were most effective when programs were outside of their regular classrooms.

Since cognitive programs were the main orientation of the majority of the universal programs, it is difficult to decipher whether positive effects arose from the treatment modality (i.e., the cognitive thrust of the program) or the service format (i.e., universal format).

The researchers also state that schools would benefit most in violence prevention by focusing on the ease of implementing a given program and on the quality of the program once it is in place. Surprisingly, programs that were comprehensive (defined by them as either having a distinct intervention element and/or a mix of intervention formats) were found to be ineffective. The researchers are not clear why this is the case, but a specific program targeting a slice of prevention may be more useful than the sum of these programs. However, this finding needs further research and replication.

Hahn et al. (2007) presented a review of the literature that assessed the effectiveness of universal school-based programs in preventing aggressive behaviour and violence among children of preschool and school age. The programs reviewed must have had the objective of reducing violence or aggression. The researchers evaluated school programs that taught students about the problem of violence and its prevention or skills to reduce violence (such as emotional self-awareness, emotional control, self-esteem, positive social skills, social problem-solving, conflict resolution and team work). The number of studies of quality reviewed and the consistency of the effect and effect size across all grades is evidence that universal school-based programs are associated with decreases in violence-related outcomes.

Vreeman and Carrol (2007) conducted a meta-analysis of school-based anti-bullying interventions ranging from primary to senior school levels and including international research. While each of 26 studies was rigorously designed and evaluated at the individual level, little consensus can be reached through an aggregate analysis. Only four of 10 curriculum studies (i.e., class discussions, modules) showed a decrease in bullying, while three of these still showed an increase in some smaller sub-populations. Seven out of 10 multidisciplinary whole-school interventions (i.e., a combination of school-wide rules or sanctions, teacher training, conflict resolution training, individual counselling) created a reduction in bullying behaviours. Among the remaining six studies (behavioural skills training, an increase in social workers, or student-adult mentoring), the more personal and intense interventions were most likely to reduce bullying. The authors argue that the sources of bullying behaviour are multiple and diverse; the interventions that are most successful will be the ones that utilize the wider strategies, such as whole-school techniques. Curriculum interventions are tempting due to their low cost and small commitment of resources, but their single focus should not be expected to provide dramatic results.

Molina et al. (2005) reviewed the reports of studies of seven effective elementary school-based secondary prevention programs for youth violence. To be included in the sample, the study had to: 1) use an experimental research design with random assignment to control experimental conditions; 2) have aggressive and hyperactive behaviours as outcome measures; 3) specify that sample students needed to be in elementary school; 4) examine an intervention designed for "at-risk" students; 5) have United States elementary schools as study sites; 6) be conducted during school time; 7) exclude self-directed violence from the results; and 8) be published no earlier than 1990. The preventive interventions that were tested included attributional retraining, social skills training, cognitive-behavioural therapy, peer coping skills, and child, parent, and teacher training for low-income students at risk for serious behavioural disorders. Sample sizes of the studies (n=7) varied from 52 to 453 subjects and only two had less than 100 subjects. Five of the studies reported beneficial results and two reported mixed results.
The programs that showed the more promising results were ones that used cognitive-behavioural interventions and social skills training on identified aggressive or at-risk students. The most efficacious interventions were: 1) attributional retraining, a cognitive program that enhances the ability to detect other people's intentions; 2) social skills training that had role-playing, modelling and positive reinforcement; 3) peer coping skills that promoted pro-social coping and information exchange; and 4) cognitive-behavioural training that had positive social skills training and more adaptive problem-solving skills.

The purpose of Mytton et al.'s (2002) study was to conduct a systematic review and meta-analysis of randomized and controlled experiments of violence prevention initiatives in the school. Studies were also selected that used youth at risk for aggressive behaviour as its target population. The researchers identified 44 trials, but none reported data on violent injuries. The researchers' analysis suggested that there was a greater effectiveness of violence prevention in older students, and when programs were administered to mixed-sex groups rather than to male students solely. The authors conclude that school-based violence prevention programs may reduce violent and aggressive behaviour in students who already exhibit the behaviour. They also point out that many of the reviewed trials did not provide data for relevant outcomes that were known to be measured, suggesting a bias towards positive results and a need for a large-scale systematic study.

Gottfredson et al. (2002) analyzed 178 studies on prevention in schools. The group of studies they analyzed had used a comparison group evaluation method and also included non-equivalent research designs. They organized their study around program types rather than developmental levels by grouping the studies into those focused on altering school or classroom environments and those focused on the individual. Environmental strategies include interventions to change the decision-making processes of authority figures, school-wide efforts to define or redefine norms for appropriate behaviour, using instructional methods to increase student engagement in the learning process and therefore increase bonds to the schools, and regrouping students, for instance by reorganizing classes to create smaller units. The cluster of interventions that focused on changing behaviours and teaching skills or providing knowledge to students appeared to be more successful. However, the definitions the researchers used to group violence prevention programs has a large degree of overlap, as 94 per cent of the reviewed studies contained multiple components and fit in more than one cluster. The researchers found that interventions geared to environmental factors were somewhat more effective than individually focused interventions to reduce effects of crime and substance abuse.

The most effective strategies across all outcomes Gottfredson et al. (2002) measured (substance abuse, crime, anti-social behaviour or truancy) were interventions that established norms and expectations for behaviour, school and discipline management interventions, and instructional programs that used cognitive-behavioural methods to teach social competency skills. What they found did not work were instructional programs that did not use cognitive-behavioural techniques, counselling, social work and other therapeutic interventions, and recreation and leisure programs.

Wright et al. (2007) tested the effectiveness of a multi-component program, which combined various interventions (cooperative learning, classroom management and peer-oriented strategies) to reduce anti-social behaviour in adolescents. The study was carried in two school boards in Ontario and used a two-group comparison before-and-after design. Grade nine students from two schools were control schools and grade nine students from two other schools were assigned the intervention. Data was derived from questionnaires (n=978 at the first interval and n=358 for the follow-up questionnaire from all schools). The multi-component model of interventions had small and similar effects on high- and low-risk groups. Both groups had improved student perceptions of classroom interactions, friends' deviance, and perceptions of fairness in school rules. There were small changes in student perception of the teacher, truancy, suspensions, behavioural problems, and conduct disorder. Interestingly, positive effects were slightly more pronounced in the low-risk groups, contrary to much previous research (Greenwood, 2006; Reid et al., 1999; Ngwe, 2004; Segawa, 2005; Flannery et al., 2003, Vazsonyi et al., 2004, Farrell et al., 2001).

Sprott (2004), while not assessing a particular program, has argued that emotionally supportive classrooms when children were 10 to 13 years old was related to lower rates of violence when the students were 12 to 15 years old, which would suggest that the actual program implemented may be of secondary importance, provided that emotional supports are strong in the classroom.

Sprott et al. (2005) used longitudinal survey data from the Canadian National Longitudinal Study of Children and Youth to examine the protective effects of a school bond on violent and non-violent delinquency across a spectrum of risk factors (n=22,831 children aged 0 to 11). While the researchers were not assessing specific programs and interventions, they found that a strong school bond was a protective factor for children at risk for engaging in delinquent activity and violence two years later. A strong bond also helped protect children with more environmental risks from violent and non-violent offending, and it protected against delinquent peers for non-violent offending only.

The Blueprints Ranking System[16]

The Blueprints for Violence Prevention program is one of the more comprehensive databases of effective violence prevention programs. Based in the Center for Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado, its main purpose has been to identify effective interventions to reduce violence, delinquency and substance use.

Blueprints for Violence Prevention is also useful because it delineates fairly rigorous criteria for intervention programs to be rated as either promising or model programs. For school-based violence prevention the programs must meet the following criteria:

1. *Evidence of a deterrent effect with a strong research design.* The project has a lower threshold for school-based violence prevention programs. The research must be experimental or quasi-experimental in design. While they prefer multiple schools to be a part of the study, experiments with a few schools will be considered provided that there is more than one school in each of the experimental conditions. School-based programs must also show a consistency of effects across replications and with multiple measures from a variety of sources showing at least moderate effects.

2. *Sustained effects.* Successful programs must be able to show long-term effects beyond the treatment phase. However, Blueprints does consider programs as promising if there has not been enough time to explore such effects.

3. *Multiple site replications with diverse populations and across diverse settings* are necessary to be considered a model program.

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[16] *Some of the programs listed below have also been discussed in the previous chapter on early childhood development. They have also been included in this chapter because: 1) These programs are based in school settings and would be of interest to those interested in school-based prevention; and 2) Those interested in school-based prevention may not have been interested in reviewing the previous chapter*

4. To be considered a model program the intervention must also conform to two additional criteria. First, the research must have conducted an a*nalysis of mediating factors*. This strengthens the claims that the program was responsible for the change. Second, a *cost-benefit analysis* must weigh whether the costs of the program outweigh the benefits.

Blueprints Model Programs

The Incredible Years: Parents, Teachers and Children's Training Series

The program is a selected prevention program, as it targets children age two to 10 at risk for conduct problems by providing a set of three comprehensive curricula for parents, teachers and children. The three areas worked upon are the parent, the teacher and the child. For the children component, it involves either a "treatment version" for small groups of children exhibiting conduct issues or a "prevention version" delivered to the entire classroom two or three times a week (Jones et al., 2007; Reid and Hammond, 2003; Reid and Webster-Stratton, 2001; Webster-Stratton et al., 2001; Axberg et al., 2007).

The program addresses multiple risk factors known to be related to conduct disorders in children. Trained facilitators use videotaped scenes to promote discussion and discuss problem-solving solutions for all three training targets (parents, teachers and children). The parent series has three sub-components: Basic focuses on skills to promote children's social competence. Advance improves parental interpersonal skills. The School component emphasizes skills to enhance children's academic skills. The teacher component emphasizes strong classroom management techniques and how to teach empathy and problem-solving. The children component strengthens empathy, anger management, perspective-taking and other interpersonal skills.

Randomized evaluations with control groups for the parent component have shown significant increases in the positive affect of parents; parents tended to replace harsh disciplinary sanctions with non-violent discipline and increased monitoring; there was increased parental self-confidence and lower levels of parental depression; and there was an increase in positive family communications and reduced conduct problems in children's interactions with parents.

For teachers, they have shown an increase in the use of praise and encouragement and a reduction in harsh discipline; an increase in children's positive affect and cooperation with teachers; an increase of students' engagement with school; and reductions in peer aggression in the classroom.

For the children series, there has been an increase in children's appropriate cognitive problem-solving strategies; more pro-social conflict resolution used with peers; and a reduction in conduct problems at home and in the school.

Midwestern Prevention Project (MPP)

This is a comprehensive community-based program for drug prevention whose central component is the school. MPP attempts to aid early adolescent students in dealing with the social pressures of drug use and train students how to avoid drug situations and drug use. The school component utilizes social learning techniques like role-playing and homework assignments designed to include the family. A parent-principal committee is established to review school drug policies and enhance parent-child communication skills. These school components are reinforced with a well-coordinated community-wide effort, such as mass media programming, parent education, community organization training, and local policy changes regarding tobacco. The different components are introduced at a rate of one per year, with the media component going throughout. All parts include regular meetings of program deliverers, such as community organization leaders and principals, to review and refine the program (Pentz et al., 1998).

MPP has been found to achieve a 40 per cent reduction in daily smoking, with similar but smaller reductions in marijuana and alcohol use (maintained through grade 12). Effects on daily smoking, marijuana use and the use of certain hard drugs have been shown to exist through age 23. There is also an increase in parent-child communications about drug use. MPP has also facilitated development of prevention programs among other community leaders and organizations.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program

This is a universal intervention with additional targeted interventions for youth identified as bullies or victims of bullying. Questionnaires are distributed to assess the prevalence and nature of bullying in schools. A conference is set up, along with a committee, to further discuss bullying and plan intervention strategies. Identified areas of bullying are targeted with increased staff supervision. Students are involved in the classroom establishment and enforcement of rules against bullying, with regular meetings to discuss bullying. Students who may be bullies, victims of bullying, and parents engage in more focused discussions with teachers and/or counsellors.

The program reports a reduction in a reduction of reports of bullying and victimization. There is a reduction in reports of general anti-social behaviour and an increase in reports of a school climate of pro-social attitudes to the school and school-work (Olweus et al., 1999).

Bauer et al. (2007) reported mixed results on this program in a non-randomized sample of Seattle schools. The researchers found no difference between Olweus and non-Olweus schools in victimization reports or in attitudes about student intervention when the population of students was aggregated. However, when the sample was broken down by race/ethnicity and grade, the evaluators did find some positive effects. For example, there was a decrease in victimization reported by white students. Bauer et al. (2007) suggest that Olweus was developed in a homogenous Norwegian environment, so additional components of racial identity, racial tolerance and sensitivity may need to be included in the program at the local school level to bolster effectiveness in a multi-ethnic society. They also note that it is difficult to compare all the cross-national studies because of different methodologies employed.

Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS)

This is a universal prevention program designed to be administered over multiple years from kindergarten to grade five. PATHS is a classroom-based program for all elementary students, which seeks to enhance social and emotional abilities and to reduce aggression and conduct problems while increasing the educational experience in the classroom (Greenberg et al., 1998; Greenberg et al., 1995; Domitrovich et al., 2007; Curtis and Norgate, 2007).

The curriculum is taught three times a week for about 30 minutes a day. Students are taught emotional literacy, self-control, social competence, pro-social peer relations and problem-solving skills through developmentally appropriate lessons. Students learn to identify their own feelings, express, assess, and manage their emotions, control impulses, reduce stress, self-talk, and other interpersonal skills. This program has been tested and works similarly for children in a regular class setting as well as for a variety of special needs students (hearing impaired, learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, developmentally delayed and gifted).

PATHS improves protective factors and reduces behavioural risk factors for youths who have been in the program. Students show improved self-control and better skills in recognition and knowledge of emotions. They are able to handle frustration better, show an effective use of conflict resolution strategies and utilize better planning skills. Specifically for special needs students, teachers have reported that they exhibit decreased anxiety and conduct problems. Special needs students also reported that they are less depressed and reported they display fewer conduct problems and less aggression. Students have also been rated by teachers and parents as more socially competent compared with peers, teachers have rated children as less socially withdrawn at the end of the school year compared with a control group, and children were rated as having better empathy and self-control skills.

Life Skills Training (LST)

This three-year intervention targets all middle and junior high school students to reduce tobacco, alcohol and marijuana use (Botvin et al., 2006; Botvin et al., 1998; 1995; 2001; Botvin and Griffin, 2003). LST is implemented in classrooms by teachers (peer leaders or mental health professionals can also lead the course) with 15 sessions the first year, 10 the second year and five in the third year of the program. These on average 45-minute sessions can be delivered once a week or as a more intensive course. The three major components of the program are general self-management skills, social skills and information, and skills specifically related to drugs, using instruction, demonstration, and reinforcement practices. Studies consistently show that LST demonstrates long-lasting effects to reduce tobacco, alcohol and marijuana use across a wide range of adolescents. Studies have found that it cuts tobacco, alcohol and marijuana use by 50 to 75 per cent. Long-term follow-up shows that LST cuts multiple drug use by 66 per cent, reduces a-pack-a-day smoking by 25 per cent and decreases the uses of narcotics.

LST has also recently been used to target violence. Botvin et al. (2006) tried to show that the strategies used in LST to reduce drug use could also be used to prevent violence. Forty-one public and parochial schools in New York City were randomly assigned to intervention or control conditions (n=4,858 grade six student). The intervention schools received the Life Skills Training prevention program that focuses on violence and the media, anger management, and conflict resolution skills. Survey data was measured before and three months post-intervention. The researchers found significant reductions in delinquency and violence for students in the intervention condition compared with the controls. Stronger prevention effects were found in the group of students who received at least half of the intervention compared with controls, which included less aggression, fighting and delinquency.

Project Towards No Drug Abuse (Project TND)

Project TND targets heterogeneous populations of high school youth (14 to 19 years old). The program is 12 in-class inclusive sessions that provide motivational and decision-making skills around tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, and hard drug use and violent behaviour (Sussman et al., 2004; Simon et al., 2002; Rohrbach et al., 2007). These seminars are about 40 minutes in length and are meant to be implemented over the course of a month. Students gain cognitive motivational techniques to avoid drugs and information about the consequences of drug use and receive correction on improper cognitive perceptions of substance use. Communication and other interpersonal skills such as active listening and stress management are also components.

Three thousand youth from 42 schools have participated in studies of Project TND over three trials (Sussman et al., 2004). One-year follow-up showed a 27 per cent prevalence reduction in one-month cigarette use, 22 per cent prevalence reduction in one-month marijuana use, 26 per cent prevalence reduction in 30-day hard drug use, and six per cent prevalence reduction in victimization among males.

While the program targets preventing drug use, Simon et al. (2002) studied the effectiveness of Project Towards No Drug Abuse on the risk for violence. The researchers sampled 29 school districts from five counties in southern California (n=850 students) over a 12-month period, to determine if victimization, perpetration or weapon-carrying activity differed compared with the control group, using self-report surveys. The researchers found a higher risk for victimization and weapon-carrying among male control students, but no effects on the level of perpetration among males in the intervention group nor any effects of the intervention on female students.

Blueprints Promising Programs

Seattle Social Development Project (SSDP)

This is a universal intervention for the general school population (or it can be used specifically for high-risk children), which works with teachers, parents and students to decrease students' problem behaviour. Drawing on social control and social learning theories, it attempts to increase pro-social bonds, strengthen attachments to school, and decrease delinquent activities (Hawkins et al., 1988; Hawkins et al., 1991; Hawkins et al., 1992; O'Donnel et al., 1995).

Teachers receive training on proactive classroom techniques, interactive teaching and cooperative learning. These are reflected in the establishment of clear rules and rewards and in allowing students to work in small heterogeneous groups to increase social skills and contact with pro-social peers. Parents receive optional training programs in grades one and two, two and three, and five and six.

SSDP improves school performance, family relationships and student substance use at different grades. At the end of grade two, compared with controls, students showed lower levels of aggression and anti-social behaviours for white males, and lower levels of self-destructive behaviours for white females. At the beginning of the grade five, students had lower levels of alcohol and delinquency, increases in attachment to the family, and more commitment and attachment to the school. At the end of the grade six, high-risk youth, compared with a control group, showed higher levels of attachment and commitment to school, and boys were less involved with anti-social friends. At the end of the grade 11, students in the SSDP were less involved in violent delinquency, sexual activity, being drunk, and drinking and driving.

Preventive Treatment Program (Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study)

Through parent training and student social-skill training, this program targets boys who display early problem behaviour. Parents are given approximately 17 sessions teaching them how to supervise their child, promote their child's pro-social behaviour, use punishment effectively deal with family crises effectively. The children identified as disruptive are broken into small groups, which include non-disruptive students as well. In 19 sessions, the boys learn how to improve self-control and pro-social skills through coaching, peer modelling, self-instruction, reinforcement of positive behaviour and role-playing (Tremblay et al., 1991; Tremblay et al., 1992; Tremblay et al., 1996).

The program has been successful for white Canadian males between seven and nine who display high levels of aggression in kindergarten and are from disadvantaged families. At age 12, treated boys were less likely to report minor thefts; they were reported by teachers as fighting less than the control group; 29 per cent of those in the experimental condition were rated as well-adjusted in school versus 19 per cent of the untreated boys; 22 per cent of the treated group showed less serious difficulties in school compared with 44 per cent in the control group; and 23.3 per cent of boys in the program were held back a grade or placed in a special education school versus 43 per cent of the boys not in the program.

At age 15, those boys in the program reported that they were less likely to be involved in gangs; to have been drunk or to have taken drugs in the past year; to have committed acts of delinquency; and to have had friends who were arrested by police than boys who were not in the program.

Good Behaviour Game (GBG)

GBG is a universal classroom management strategy implemented in early elementary school grades that aims to improve disruptive classroom behaviour and later criminality (Barrish et al., 1969; Dolan et al., 1993; Embry, 2002; Swiezy et al., 1992). GBG is a behaviour modification program where inappropriate behaviours are well-established and made clear by teachers. The class is divided into small teams and any time a disruptive behaviour is displayed, that team is given a checkmark. The teams that have not exceeded the pre-determined threshold receive a reward. The teacher then begins the game at various times, without telling students, to produce students who will constantly self-evaluate if they are behaving appropriately.

GBG students, according to teacher reports, are less aggressive and shy, and peers report them better on aggression scales at the end of grade one. By the end of the grade six, GBG students show decreased levels of aggression for males who rated highest pre-intervention on scales of aggression versus the control group male students who also rated high on levels of aggression in grade one.

Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers (LIFT)

LIFT targets all Grade 1 and Grade 5 students and their families living in neighbourhoods considered "at risk" and characterized by high rates of delinquent activity. LIFT targets students' oppositional and socially inept behaviours, as well as parental monitoring and correction skills, by using a classroom-based problem-solving training, playground-based behaviour modification, and group administered parental training (Eddy et al., 2000; Reid et al., 1999).

The classroom component has a lecture and role-play session that is 20 one-hour sessions delivered in 10 weeks. LIFT modifies the Good Behaviour Game for the playground component, where classes are divided into small groups for playground activities and children earn rewards for displaying positive behaviours. The parental component comprises six meetings at school, with other parents, to learn how to build an environment at home that will provide good discipline and supervision.

Immediate post-test results found that LIFT decreased physical aggression on the playground, and these effects were most pronounced in students who rated high on pre-experimental aggression tests. Mothers with the highest levels of aversive behaviours had the largest reductions of such behaviours compared with the control group. Teachers rated a significant increase in pro-social skills and positive classroom behaviour for students who received the intervention.

A three-year follow-up of the program used four schools chosen as LIFT intervention schools and two control schools (n=671 students). LIFT delayed the time when students first became involved with anti-social peers, first used alcohol, and first used marijuana, and it also delayed the time until the first police arrest.

Other Programs Of Interest

Second Step

This program is a three-year, module-based program whose objectives are fostering pro-social skills (identification of self and other's feelings, responding with empathy, improving social interaction) and reducing impulsive and aggressive behaviour (recognizing signs and thoughts of anger, using anger management techniques, using problem-solving skills to resolve conflicts, and practicing behavioural skills to cope with difficult social situations). Participants in one study (n=714) were in grades six to eight, drawn from five schools: three in the United States (two in the Pacific Northwest and one in a large Southwestern city) and two schools in an eastern Canadian city. Compared with students in the control conditions, Second Step students in their second year of middle schooling were less likely to accept verbal or physical aggression and social exclusion, and these students were also less likely to rate pro-social skills as difficult to enact. Program effects were less observed for students in their first year of middle/junior high schooling. Male and female participants showed little difference in degree of attitudinal change (Van Schoaick-Edstrom et al., 2002; McMahon and Washburn, 2003).

For African-American students, research has found that self-reported empathy and teacher-reported pro-social behaviour increased significantly, and the increases in empathy significantly predicted less aggressive behaviour. However, the results are mixed, since no change in aggressive behaviour and impulsivity was found.

Responding In Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP)

This violence prevention initiative uses an action-research process where a series of programs was developed, put into practice, assessed and later revised based on the evaluations. The main component of the program is an individual-level focused 25-session grade six grade curriculum (RIPP-6) and a 12-session curriculum for grades seven and eight (RIPP-7 and RIPP-8 respectively). The program employs an adult role model who teaches skills and attitudes that promote non-violence. Educational techniques include team-building, small group work, and role-playing, and participants are instructed using the model of social-cognitive problem-solving. Each RIPP level addresses developmental issues specific to the grade level. It is supposed to be implemented with a peer mediation program to promote school-level change (Farrell and Flannery, 2006; Farrell et al., 2001; Farrell et al., 2003a; Farrell et al., 2003b).

Evaluations of RIPP-7 show that students in the treatment condition (n=239), compared with controls (n=237), had fewer disciplinary code violations for violent offences in the following grade eight year at a six-month follow-up.

RIPP-6 students (n=321) showed fewer disciplinary violations for violent offences and fewer in-school suspensions and reported fewer fight-related injuries post-test when compared with a randomly assigned control group (n=305). The reduction in suspension was maintained at 12-month follow-up for boys only, but on other measures at the 12-month follow-up, effects only approached significance.

Self-report effects have not been shown to be maintained on measures of physical aggression, drug use or anxiety. However, the research on RIPP suggests that effects of this program may be limited to those students who already demonstrate high levels of aggressive behaviour, because RIPP's impact on violent behaviour was highest for students who exhibited higher pre-test scores of problem behaviour. The benefit of this program would then lie in avoiding the stigma and label of pulling at-risk students out of the classroom by instead employing a more universally-based approach.

Putting aside the content and mixed findings on the efficacy of RIPP, the action-research method used to implement this violence prevention initiative may be fruitful to replicate because different schools and communities will have very different needs. It would be beneficial if, during the assessment stage, not only would the program itself be assessed, but also the community and stakeholders involved would form a large part of the evaluation. This means we should be cautious not to put too much emphasis on outcomes-based evaluations at the expense of determining if the process itself is meaningful for the wider community.

PeaceBuilders

PeaceBuilders is a violence prevention program that tries to alter the school climate by teaching some basic rules and activities to staff and students, which are designed to improve social competence and lower aggressive behaviour. PeaceBuilders attempts to train all staff to infuse anti-violence and pro-social language and philosophy into the everyday school environment. This is achieved by teaching participant schools to praise people; avoid put-downs; seek wise people as advisers and friends, see and correct the hurts we cause, and right wrongs (Flannery et al., 2003; Vazsonyi et al., 2004).

One study matched eight schools (grades kindergarten to five) in Prima County, Arizona, and schools were randomly assigned to the immediate intervention condition or one-year delayed intervention (n>4,000 students). In year one, there were significant gains in teacher-rated social competence for kindergarten to grade two students, child self-reported peace-building behaviour for kindergarten to grade five students, and reductions in aggressive behaviour for students in grades three to five in the immediate condition but not the delayed condition. Most effects were maintained into year two for those students in the immediate condition, including increases in pro-social behaviour in grades kindergarten to two.

This program is particularly useful because, Flannery et al. (2003) argue, most violence prevention initiatives are implemented in middle school, but effects for the grades kindergarten to two and three to five were discovered, so preventive intervention should be provided early in elementary school. The larger treatment effects on students in grades three to five who were higher on aggression at baseline supports the growing literature that higher-risk students show larger effects after interventions.

Indeed, further research on PeaceBuilders looked at the differences in male and female youth who were classified at low, medium or high risk for future violence. Eight urban schools were selected from the Tucson area and assigned to the intervention condition or a wait-list control group (n=2,380 predominantly minority students from kindergarten to grade five). Data was collected from teachers from grades kindergarten to grade five and students from grades three to five through in-class surveys. High-risk children reported more decreases in aggression and more increases in social competence compared with children in the low- or medium-risk groups. The data support the finding that large-scale universal violence prevention programs are promising ways to change the risk and protective factors associated with future violence.

Programs That Are Less Effective at Reducing Violence

Peer counselling does not appear to work for school-based violence prevention initiatives (Turk, 2004; Greenwood, 2005), nor does social competency training that does not use cognitive-behavioural techniques (Gottfredson et al., 2002). Alternative recreation programs are also not linked to strong preventive effects, despite the widespread belief that these programs are useful (Greenwood, 2005; Gottfredson et al., 2002).

Perhaps the most celebrated example of a school-based prevention program that does not work is DARE. Initiated by the Los Angeles Police Department, DARE is a highly structured 16-week curriculum of 45- to 60-minute lessons per week designed to prevent substance abuse. Police officers are given 90 hours of training to implement the program. In the early 1990s, this was the program used for drug abuse prevention, and 60 to 80 per cent of all school districts in the United States were estimated to be running DARE.

Early studies showed positive results for DARE (Ennet et al., 1994). However, later studies (Clayton et al., 1996; Dukes et al., 1997; Rosenbaum et al., 1994; 1998) all showed that by the time students in DARE reached their high school years, their behaviour towards drug use and abuse was no different from that of students who had not been in the program. These studies have been generally received as very high-quality randomized field trials and meta-analyses, which selected only the most well-designed studies for their research (Weiss et al., 2008).

This program itself highlights the need for continual independent research on program efficacy, because early results suggested it was useful and governments had adopted it as a model program and provided extensive funding for DARE. However, because it was so extensively adopted, it became the fulcrum of much more research.

Because of the diverse number of violence prevention programs that have been cropping up (with or without rigorous methodological support), the good-quality research that exists is much more fractured, which is why there has been a growing emphasis on meta-analyses (Weiss et al., 2008) to try and tie a diverse array of initiatives together based on program characteristics.

Despite DARE's shortcomings and non-inclusion on various lists that classify "model" or "promising" programs, Weiss et al. (2008) raise similar issues with three other programs classified as "promising" by Blueprints (not included in this review) and two "model" programs: LST and the Midwestern Prevention Project. Weiss et al. (2008) echo the earlier methodological issue, discussed above, that prevention programs typically show limited evidence of positive findings. They suggest that the patterns of findings and effects for DARE, compared with other prevention programs often classified as "model" or "promising," are very similar, but that there are more studies on DARE and more negative publicity.

Viligant and Independent Evaluation

Whatever violence prevention initiative is adopted for schools, it remains crucial that the selected intervention(s) is/are continually evaluated *by an independent body*. There is a poor precedent that school-based programs are not evaluated by schools extensively. Smith et al. (2006) surveyed 395 schools in Ontario and found that only 28 per cent of the participating schools utilized evaluations of their anti-bullying programs. Even when school-based programs were being assessed, the rigour was typically low. Therefore, it should be a priority to continually monitor and assess violence prevention initiatives and, ideally, ensure that programs stand up to the same rigours required for peer-reviewed publications.

Gorman (2005) argues that most violence prevention literature does not judge the scientific status of the theory by using Popper's (1963) notion of falsifiability. Rather, evaluations are conducted to verify the hypotheses connected to program effectiveness. Gorman specifically looked at the claims made by the research on the Seattle Social Development Project and the Life Skills Training Program. Gorman's (2005) main concern is around the understanding of this as an actual "science." For instance, developers do not typically reject any conjectures they make about the efficacy of their program, and this does not lend itself to the claim of a "prevention science." Furthermore, despite the number of null effects that have been reproduced by these studies, when a statistically significant effect is discovered in one aspect of the program, it is then used to prove the validity for the program in its totality, despite the mixed evidence reported. This suggests the need for independent review of the total effects of interventions.

While the substance of the program is important if it meets certain criteria outlined above, program implementation and delivery can be just as important. Staff and schools need to be continually monitored to ensure that programs are operating effectively (Peterson et al., 2001; Wilson and Lipsey, 2007). Program implementers need not be specialists, because Rohrbach et al. (2007) found that motivated and trained classroom teachers can implement evidence-based prevention programs as well as specialist-led staff. However, continual monitoring of program staff is necessary to ensure that programs are being properly implemented. Program efficacy is also tied to the perceptions of the administrators (Peterson and Esbensen, 2004), so it would also be prudent for schools to locally develop violence prevention programs.

The evaluation of a violence prevention program can be made more difficult by pressures to "do something" and put anything in place. Schools may have a tendency to look to seemingly authoritative lists of successful programs (such as the Blueprints list), and the quality of the program becomes a secondary consideration (Hallfors et al., 2007). This is important to consider when policy-makers or centres of prevention study point out specific programs as either "model" or "promising" and can be rectified by ensuring that the program meets the individual school's needs and with a continual monitoring of implemented programs.

After-School Initiatives

Unfortunately, there is very little peer-reviewed research on the violence prevention capabilities of after-school programs (ASP), despite their recent proliferation (Gottfredson et al., 2007; Lauer et al., 2006). Furthermore, as Miller (2003) notes, there can be no true experiment on ASP's because "when it comes to out-of-school time, there is no such thing as a 'no treatment' group" (88), meaning that students are always doing something. We do know that delinquent activity is reported higher during the immediate hours after school (Gottfredson et al., 2001), so it would seem, at least from a rudimentary understanding of routine activities theory, to be prudent to keep students occupied and away from a higher number of self-care hours. However, this does not mean that all ASP programs will be effective at reducing youth violence. Indeed, research suggests that program structure (is the program highly organized or not) and content (is the program based on a specific curriculum or planned set of activities) will ultimately determine the effectiveness of specific after-school programs. Some studies, in fact, suggest that improperly designed ASP's can actually increase youth victimization and delinquent activity (Gottfredson et al., 2007; Mahoney et al., 2000; 2004).

Gottfredson et al. (2007) highlight some of the key characteristics that successful ASPs contain by studying data from 35 funded programs in the state of Maryland (n=497 high school students in total). Nine of these programs provided a comparison sample at pre- and post-test (n=108). The researchers were interested in examining correlates of program success in reducing substance use, delinquency and victimization that controlled for potentially confounding variables (individual and program-level characteristics).

Gottfredson et al. (2007) found that smaller-sized ASPs are important, as the students who went to larger ASPs experienced more victimization and engaged in more delinquency. The researchers also found that better program structure was linked to lower rates of delinquency and victimization, and programs using a published curriculum had significant effects on substance use. Basic recreation time was not linked to the outcomes, which contradicts previous research (Gerstenblith et al., 2005). Program staff is also very important to program success, as programs with higher levels of staff education translated into lower levels of delinquency and victimization. On the other hand, unstructured time and socializing were related to higher levels of victimization, which replicates Osgood and Anderson's (2004) results, but the total time of unsupervised socializing with peers did not increase delinquent behaviour, which contradicts previous research. ASPs that hired more college graduates and used published curriculum to guide daily activities were more successful in lowering levels of substance abuse and delinquency. Specifically, the Life Skills Training program (reviewed above) was used most commonly, but programs drew from a range of published guides. The researchers caution that this should not be taken to be a replication of the finding that ASPs that teach life skills are effective at prevention, but they suggest that it does show that planned activities based on well-established instructional methods can be effective at lowering delinquency and victimization.

The researchers caution that their data is not a true meta-analysis and only speaks to correlations. The lack of studies on ASP suggests the need for further research and an on-going *independent* evaluation, that would stand up to the rigours sought in peer-reviewed journals, for whatever ASP programs become implemented. Gottfredson et al. (2007) also point out that low-risk students tend to remain for the duration of an ASP, while higher-risk students have lower rates of voluntary participation. In the research sample, there were high levels of attrition in both the treatment group (41 per cent) and the comparison group (31 per cent). So, while their study points to specific characteristics of programs that seem beneficial to prevent violence and delinquency and some effects are observed compared with a control group, those enrolled in these programs may not be those who need such interventions the most (such as at-risk students).

Not all findings about ASPs have shown positive results. Weisman et al. (2002) conducted a quasi-experimental evaluation of 14 ASPs and found that those who attended ASPs displayed higher rates of delinquency, rebelliousness, variety of drug use and exposure to peers who used drugs, from the beginning to the end of the program, when compared with a control group. Similarly, in Swedish youth recreation centres, Mahoney et al. (2000) found that these centres, although not truly after school because they were open in the evenings, were related to higher rates of juvenile offending and persistent offending, even after self-selection factors were controlled for. Unfortunately, these studies did not control for program structure or content.

At-risk Students

Research suggests that the students who could be classified at higher risk for violence and victimization are less likely to voluntarily enrol in ASP programs (Gottfredson et al., 2007). However, in a meta-analysis of 35 "out-of-school-time" program evaluations that were experimental or quasi-experimental, Lauer et al. (2006) discovered that such programs can have a positive effect on the achievement of "at-risk" students in reading and math versus the control population of "at-risk" students. However, Lauer et al. (2006) also note how difficult it is to track attendance rates in these ASPs and their subsequent evaluations, which presents a methodological issue when looking at research on ASPs.

Lord and Mahoney (2007) conducted a longitudinal study over two years to explore associations of neighbourhood crime, academic performance and aggression in a sample of 581 Grade 1 to Grade 3 children. The researchers broke up the participants into tiers according to the number of hours the children were supervising themselves (Low: zero to three hours; Medium: four to nine hours and High: 10 to 15 hours). Moderate and High amounts of self-care were linked to poorer academic performance and higher rates of aggression in children living in high-crime areas but not in children from average crime areas. This suggests that lowering the number of hours of self-care may be of most importance for "high-crime" areas or areas "at risk" for crime and violence.

The Harvard Family Research Project

The Harvard Family Research Project (HFRP) operates very similarly to the Blueprints project. The HFRP keeps a database of after-school program evaluations and also recently (February 2008) prepared a brief to specifically highlight the seminal and experimental research. The HFRP (2008) review notes that much of the research is plagued with selection biases (as discussed earlier, where students self-select themselves into such programs) and very few are true randomized experiments. With these limitations in mind, the HFRP attempts to single out from their database the highest-quality studies that employed an experimental or quasi-experimental approach. However, the threshold of research selected is more vague than Blueprints and seems to include every possible type of quasi-experimental or experimental study that they deem of high calibre (for instance, they have multi-site and single-site studies, school- and community-based models, studies that look at narrow or broad outcomes, and research syntheses and meta-analyses). While they break up their analyses of ASP programs into academic, social/emotional development, crime, drug and sex prevention, and promoting health and wellness components, the prevention outcomes will be specifically focused on for the purpose of this literature review.

Project Venture

Project Venture is a substance abuse prevention program (an outdoor program) that tries to help students with a positive self-concept, strong interpersonal communication skills, an orientation to community service, and learning problem-solving skills. Three hundred and fifty middle school students in New Mexico participated in this study, which used measures of actual levels and risk levels for substance abuse with respect to both the experimental and the control condition (Carter et al., 2006 as cited by Goss et al., 2008).

Students in the program displayed less growth in substance use in terms of alcohol, marijuana, cigarettes and combined substances. The researchers also reported finding a non-significant trend, over time, for the treatment group to have lower growth rates of cigarette and drug use, but found significant slower growth rates for the treatment group in the area of alcohol use.

LA's BEST Program

This ASP attempts to give students enhanced opportunities and create a safe environment by providing educational support, enrichment, and recreational activities. The study (n=2,300 students from 24 schools) found that the intervention reduced juvenile crime, and reduced it even more so in the case of those students who were heavily involved in the program. The cost-benefit analysis they performed suggested a savings of $2.50 for every dollar invested in the program (Oldschmidt et al., 2007 as cited by Goss et al., 2008).

Huang et al. (2000 as cited by Goss et al., 2008) argue that participation in LA's BEST improves school attendance rates, students hope to do more upon graduation, and students in the program have more post-secondary education experiences. Huang et al. (2007 as cited by Goss et al., 2008), in a longitudinal study of the program, found that the implementation of the program for at least 12 months from grade two to grade five meant that students had lower dropout rates in high school. The higher the participation in the program, the bigger the reduction in dropout rates, particularly for low-income students.

Girl Inc.'s Friendly PEERsuasion EXPAND

This program emphasizes social skills and reduces the likelihood of beginning to drink and the incidence of drinking for students who had previously used alcohol. Kennedy (1991) randomly assigned individuals to participate in the PEERsuasion program. The program significantly reduced the onset of drinking and the incidence of drinking. Treatment participants were more likely to leave gatherings where drinking was occurring and participants also displayed fewer positive attitudes toward drinking. This is in line with the view that structured and organized treatments and multi-modal programs are more effective in the prevention of delinquency (Weiss and Nicholson, 1998; Smith and Kennedy, 1991).

What Characteristics Do Successful Programs Share?

From their database on different ASPs that have different goals in mind (from academic enrichment to prevention efforts), the Harvard Family Research Project (2008) suggests that there are three factors that contribute to the success of a given ASP.

First, there is a gap in effects between the children whose families have a higher income and more education and the children from more disadvantaged families. The more advantaged children were more likely to participate in ASPs and to do so more frequently per week. They were in more diverse ASPs and were more likely to be in enrichment programs versus those that were strictly tutoring programs. Thus, it seems that sustained participation in an ASP can be an elusive thing to achieve, particularly for students who seem to need these interventions the most. From a policy standpoint, it may be counterproductive to compel participation in ASP, yet on a volunteer basis, higher-risk students may not attend such programs. For ASPs, as already mentioned, it has been difficult to accurately track attendance rates (Lauer et al., 2006).

Second, quality programming is essential, with well-prepared staff that engages in positive and meaningful interactions with students. A quality program is also assured with appropriate levels of supervision and structure, because students grouped together without strong supervision or with higher levels of unstructured time are more likely to engage in problematic behaviour. Also, an intentionally designed program is necessary so that a quality ASP can target specific outcomes.

Third, strong partnerships with stakeholders such as the family, the community and schools are essential to support the development of students across multiple contexts. The Nexus Policing project in Australia may provide some insight on how to problem-solve and build relationships with multiple stakeholders and service providers (see Wood et al., 2008). The Nexus project encourages "participatory action research," which is a research methodology that encourages active participation, group reflection and evaluation. Participatory action research attempts to approach and solve community issues, in this case specifically around policing, uniquely by bringing academics and practitioners together to learn from one another (Wood et al., 2008). Violence prevention and the school, and to an even greater degree violence prevention in broader society, is multi-contextual and has diverse stakeholders. An approach like Nexus would help establish the necessary partnerships among the stakeholders involved.

Other ASP Initiatives

21st Century Community Learning Centers

This particular program is a U.S. federally funded program to open up schools later for broader use by the community. It was refocused in 1998 to provide academic, enrichment and recreational activities in public schools in the hours after school. Mahoney and Zigler (2006) argue that there is little peer-reviewed research in the area of after-school programs, and they caution specifically against the data that exists on 21st Century Community Learning Centers because it has not been replicated across independent studies, it has not been vetted through peer-reviewed scrutiny, and there is little reporting of the weaknesses of their own evaluations.

James-Burdumy et al. (2007) studied these Community Learning Centers by randomly assigning elementary students who were interested in attending the program to either the treatment or the control condition (n=2,308). It should be noted that it is not clear if the students in the two groups were matched on various scales. Also, there were sampling issues, since students targeted for this experiment were only from oversubscribed Centers (where half were allowed in and the other half made up the control sample). Therefore, this experimental study is not ideal, as it was specific to the 21st Century Community Learning Centers that had an overflow population. These schools did have higher than the average percentage of students using the free lunch program. The high number suggests that these oversubscribed Centers were in more impoverished areas, but this is a hypothesis not systematically discernable from the study. The researchers found that there was no significant effect on the frequency of student self-care, which suggests that the program was taking in students who would have already been supervised by another adult or parent rather than the group at a higher risk for self-care. Students in the Center reported feeling safer, but there was no effect on homework completion and there was no improvement observed on tests or grades. In fact, the researchers found that the program seemed to increase problem behaviour.

Positive Youth Development

Positive Youth Development (PYD) is a comprehensive program that focuses on the positive contributions and behaviours that youth exhibit, eschewing negative connotations or characterizations. There is an 18-session after-school program to teach students effective decision-making skills with regard to the harms associated with substance use. The program is based on previous established curricula (Yale Adolescent Decision-Making Program and the Positive Youth Development Program). Over 300 middle and high school students participated in the study, in either control or intervention groups. Students were tested at the beginning and end of the program, as well as in a one-year follow-up. The authors found that the PYD program significantly lowered the likelihood for substance use, and significantly increased the likelihood of an internalized belief that drugs were harmful (Tebes et al., 2007).

Boys and Girls Clubs

An evaluation of the effects of the Boys and Girls Clubs' use of reading classes, sports, homework assistance, and the use of SMART (Self-Management and Resistance Training – a substance abuse prevention program), was conducted in public housing sites. The researchers used a pre-test/post-test experimental design, with a non-randomized control group. Five sites had traditional Boys and Girls Clubs programming, five sites added SMART to the traditional programming, and five sites had no intervention. The housing projects with Boys and Girls Clubs, with or without SMART, had significantly less juvenile criminal activity, although this was 70 arrests compared with 80 arrests. The public housing sites with Boys and Girls Clubs also had fewer damaged units, lower rates of substance abuse, and less drug trafficking (Schinke et al., 2000; Schinke, Orlandi and Cole, 1992).

The educational enhancement program that the BGC initiated for at-risk youth in 1996 in public housing areas in New York, Cleveland, Oakland, Tampa and Edinburgh, Texas involved components such as discussing with adults, writing activities, leisure reading, homework, helping others and games using cognitive skills. Results have indicated that those receiving educational enhancement, versus a control group, showed increases in reading, verbal skills, writing and tutoring. Teachers rated treatment participants higher on reading, writing, overall school performance and interest in school material. School grades were higher for treatment groups in reading, spelling, history, social studies and science. Treatment students also had higher grade averages and higher attendance rates. While there were no measures on the violence prevention merits of this initiative, the apparent increase in bonds to the school represented by attendance rates higher than the control group indicates that educationally focused interventions can provide measurable effects outside of educational achievement scores.

Participate and Learn Skills (PAL)

The researchers conducted a study on a 32-month Ottawa program implemented in a public housing complex. Low-income children aged five to15 were sought to participate in activities that would increase skill level in a variety of areas (music, sports, dance, etc.). PAL's aims were to build the skill levels of participants and to integrate children in the complex into the wider community. Jones and Offord also hypothesized that this development program could also help in other areas, such as having more pro-social behaviours and attitudes (Jones and Offord, 1989).

The youth in the public housing unit (n=417) were matched with those in another public housing complex (n=488). During the program's 32 months, the monthly average of youth charged by the police was 80 per cent less in the treatment condition (.2 per month compared with 1.0 charged per month in the control condition). Sixteen months post-intervention, this decreased somewhat to 0.5 children who had received the program charged per month versus 1.1 children in the control condition. Skill enhancement and integration with the surrounding community was better for those in the PAL program. There were some additional effects observed in self-esteem, as treatment children showed an increase in self-esteem, but there was no change in behaviours observed at home or school.

Although the control group was not matched along in-group characteristics, the control group showed consistency during and post-intervention on the number of charges per month. While the effects in the treatment condition did wear off, which does undermine its impact (Welsh and Hoshi, 2001), the jump in the number of young people charged per month from 0.2 to 0.5 post-intervention suggests that if this program remained in operation, it could significantly reduce the number of young people charged by the police. However, the caution is that the number of charges the police lay is not necessarily linked to the true amount (and seriousness) of delinquent activity.

Some Final Thoughts

While I have tried to focus this literature review on "what works" in the general context of violence prevention in schools, the better question will always be, "What works, given the needs and values of my students and community and the condition and capacity of my school and district" (Simmons, 2005: 9 as cited in Weiss et al., 2008). If there is anything that the Ontario experiment with zero tolerance can teach us, it is that blanket reforms and statements concerning disciplining students is not productive and that the plethora of needs is quite different within each city, community, school and even in each individual classroom. To assess "what works" in this context requires an unearthing of the various positions, social locations, and resources each stakeholder and participant may be able to bring to the table concerning violence prevention in schools. Therefore, participatory and independent research seems to be able to ensure that the process of unearthing "what works" is continually discussed, evaluated and re-enacted by the very people who will benefit from these initiatives.

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Employment Strategies[17]

Introduction

The relationship between unemployment and crime is a very complex one that has long been at the forefront of both criminological discussions and crime reduction strategies. Job training programs and other initiatives designed to increase employment opportunities are often created in the hope of breaking the crime cycle that has been found to exist in the world of the unemployed adult. With the concern over the prevalence of youth crime and violence in recent years, especially within Ontario, such programs are being offered to disadvantaged and offending youth in an attempt to set them on the path towards productive and law-abiding lives. However, youths differ from adults in terms of needs, circumstances and life-stage, and therefore, workforce participation generally occupies a different role in their lives. While it seems likely that job training and employment opportunity initiatives aimed at youth can have beneficial results, effective public policy must rest on a comprehensive understanding of the employment-crime relationship that is youth-specific. In particular, there is a need to determine when and why employment benefits youth (or alternatively, when and why it does not), as well as how these benefits can and have been best derived from employment programs. This paper reviews the literature pertaining to youth employment and crime, with an emphasis on specific youth employment program evaluations. It is guided by an understanding of the need to determine the effectiveness of such programs in reducing youth crime in the hope of informing policy-makers as to the potential for these programs to form part of an effective crime prevention or reduction strategy. However, it should be noted that, for marginalized youth, obtaining and holding a job may have other concrete benefits including building self-confidence, personal responsibility and punctuality, communication skills and establishing a work history.

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[17] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Stephanie Roberts, BA, undergraduate program in criminology, University of Toronto.*

Youth Employment: Does It Help?

A number of theoretical perspectives offer tentative explanations for the relationship between youth employment and crime. *Anomie theory*, for example, holds that individuals adopt criminal or delinquent behaviour when they lack legitimate means to achieve socially desirable goals, such as wealth and power (Merton, 1938). To the extent then that unemployment acts as a barrier to an adolescent's goals, a positive correlation with crime is expected. *Economic choice theory* explains crime in terms of its economic appeal over legal behaviour (Ehrlich, 1973). According to this perspective, youth will be more likely to engage in illegal activity when they expect it to be more economically rewarding than legitimate avenues such as employment. This theory, however, may be more helpful in explaining income-generating crimes than in explaining violence (Bushway and Reuter, 2002). *Social control theory* emphasizes the ability of employment to decrease delinquency through strengthening pro-social bonds and fostering a stake in conventional institutions (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990 *Social learning theories* would emphasize the values and norms being learned in the work environment. One branch of the social learning perspective, *differential association theory*, posits that having delinquent friends increases the likelihood that an individual will also exhibit delinquent behaviour (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978). According to this theory, the effect of employment on youth crime will depend on the extent to which employment promotes or inhibits delinquent peer associations. Finally, *life-course theory* holds that the causes of crime vary over the life cycle (Sampson and Laub, 1993), and thus the extent to which unemployment is a criminogenic factor will depend on the life stage of the individual. These theoretical perspectives, rather than offering a clear picture of the relationship between youth employment and crime, highlight the complexity of this relationship. They suggest that the effect of youth employment on crime is contingent on a variety of factors, including the circumstances of the youth and the context of employment.

Empirical evidence as to the impact of employment on youth is as divided as the differing theoretical perspectives would suggest. The findings are perhaps best summarized by the statement that "the effect of work on crime could be positive, negative, or even substantively unimportant" (Brame et al., 2004: 252).

The literature suggesting a positive correlation between youth employment and delinquency fails to provide evidence of a clear causal link. Many researchers caution that the supposed link is a result of unaccounted-for individual characteristics that affect both the likelihood of employment and deviant behaviour (Gottfredson and Hirshi, 1990; Paternoster et al., 2003; Apel, 2004; Brame et al., 2004). Using data from the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, with a sample of 4,168 youth between the ages of 15 and 18, Brame et al. (2004) found that the positive empirical association between youth employment and criminal activity was highly sensitive to the assumptions made about unobserved sources of criminal propensity. Employment was found to reduce the risk of criminal behaviour under some sets of assumptions, but not others. It is also important to note that many of the studies that suggest youth employment can have negative impacts on youth are based on high school students and viewed in light of beliefs that uphold the value of the traditional educational system. Such studies do not necessarily speak out against employment initiatives for more disadvantaged youth, such as high school dropouts or court-involved youth who are unlikely to return to school. Most studies highlight the need for further research into the youth employment and crime relationship.

What Types of Work Benefit Youth?

If job training programs and employment opportunity initiatives are to serve as viable strategies for deterring youth crime, they must be created with an understanding of the job characteristics and employment types that are more likely to benefit youth. As with the work-crime relationship more generally, answers are not to be found with reference to what works for adults. In their longitudinal study of 1,000 high school students in St. Paul, Minnesota, Staff and Uggen (2003) found that the "ideal adolescent job" is one that has age-appropriate benefits, mainly supporting the importance of school and providing an opportunity to learn new and useful things. Youth with these types of jobs (examples included office clerks and museum ushers) had the lowest levels of school deviance, alcohol use and arrest.

Another U.S. study, based on data from the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey, distinguished between formal work and informal work (Apel et al., 2006). The researchers defined formal work as having a lasting agreement with one employer, whereas informal work was freelance work or self-employment in which the youth was not employed by a single person for an extended period of time (i.e., babysitting, paper route, etc.). Findings indicated that in comparison with non-workers, formal workers engaged in more delinquency and substance use, while informal workers engaged in more delinquency but less substance use. However, while a transition from not working to a formal job during the school year was not found to increase delinquency or substance use, a switch from not working to an informal job did. While the study did not allow the researchers to determine the reasons for this difference, Apel et al. (2006) suggest that it may be a result of the reduced adult supervision and less opportunity to develop useful skills or human capital that characterizes informal work.

Research by Allan and Steffensmeier (1989) indicated that quality of employment may be more important for young adults (aged 18 to 24) than for juveniles (aged 14 to 17). Using data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports from 1977 to 1980, the researchers found that the availability of full-time employment (regardless of quality) was associated with low arrest rates among juveniles, but for young adults, low quality employment (defined as jobs characterized by low wages, few hours and discouraged workers) was associated with high arrest rates. Williams et al. (1996), however, caution against leading juveniles into temporary jobs that require few skills, especially when these jobs act as an alternative to school rather than as a complement. The researchers argue that these types of jobs often lock youth into a future of employment that is neither meaningful nor productive, and are therefore unlikely to deter future criminal behaviour.

While the effects of job type and quality on crime may not be the same for youths and adults, it is nevertheless undeniable that the youths being examined will eventually become part of the adult population. For this reason, it is important to also note that for young adults, "secondary sector" jobs, which require less skill and are often characterized by instability, have been linked to higher crime rates (Crutchfield and Pitchford, 1997), while jobs that are subjectively rewarding and that offer benefits have been found to reduce criminal behaviour (Wadsworth, 2006).

A Canadian study involving interviews of 200 male street youth, aged 24 and younger, from Edmonton, Alberta, also provides evidence that the availability of low-level jobs is not sufficient to deter youth offending. In this study, Baron (2001) found that, despite low educational attainment, many of the street youths had extensive job experience, with an average of seven jobs over their lifetimes. These jobs, however, generally required few skills and provided low wages, such as dishwashing, janitorial services and general labour. Baron (2001) found that a history in the marginal labour market led many of the youths to eventually reject the low-skill and low-wage jobs available to them in favour of more profitable criminal endeavours. While many of the youths indicated that they could find employment if they wanted to, they also expressed disdain for "working for five bucks an hour" or "flipping burgers." Instead, the youths were able to rationalize their criminal behaviour, finding support amongst other like-minded street youth and further isolating themselves from conventional society.

Youth Employment and Job Training Strategies

Strategies to successfully integrate youth into the workforce generally take one of two approaches. The first is a school-based approach, which emphasizes the importance of the traditional education system in preparing youths to become employable and self-sufficient members of society. This preventative approach involves trying to keep youth in school and facilitating a smooth school-to-work transition through career programs and increasing academic achievement. The second emphasizes imparting skills and opportunities to enter the workforce to disadvantaged youth, who have often been failed by the traditional educational system. This remedial or rehabilitative strategy would involve programs such as those aimed at helping at-risk youths find jobs through job search training, help with resume writing and occupational counselling, as well as programs that provide job training and/or temporary work experience. Wage subsidy programs may also be used, whereby employers are paid to hire certain disadvantaged youths. Canada has generally emphasized the former, school-based approach to youth employment, rather than focusing on the severely disadvantaged. The United States, in comparison, has put more emphasis on targeting disadvantaged youth, such as high school dropouts and youth offenders (HRDC, 1997). To determine the effectiveness of employment-related programs directed at youth with the aim of discovering which ones work best and why, it is necessary to examine the differential impacts of different types of programs.

How Should Programs Be Evaluated?

Considering the different approaches to helping youth succeed in the workforce, there is some question as to the basis on which these programs should be evaluated. It is important to keep in mind that the outcomes of program evaluations are contingent upon the assumptions made about the causes of youth crime. Bushway and Reuter (2002), for example, note that most evaluations judge program effectiveness according to employment effects rather than changes in criminal behaviour: "Crime control is a secondary effect which may result from increased employment, the primary objective" (214). While part of a program's success will necessarily rely on its ability to actually help youths find jobs, the literature on the youth employment and crime relationship would warn against the assumption that a program that is effective in supplying youths with jobs will necessarily have any positive effect in terms of reducing crime. This is reinforced by evaluations that show that an increase in youth employment rates did not correspond with reduced crime (i.e., Roos, 2006).

A more inclusive approach to program evaluation becomes necessary. A number of studies, for example, examine the effects of job training on school achievement. Consistent with a preventative approach, these evaluations are based on evidence that youth who do not finish high school or obtain a GED are generally less successful in the working world (Miller and Porter, 2005) and are therefore more likely to engage in criminal behaviour as adults. Other evaluations focus on the ability of these programs to reduce risky behaviour that has been linked to youth crime, such as alcohol and substance use, or to aggression more generally. These, too, are informative. Finally, evaluations that directly relate the impact of these programs to youth crime may offer the clearest indicator of the effectiveness of these programs. These evaluations, however, are often based on official crime and recidivism rates, and do not necessarily reflect youth crime more generally. The following sections are guided by the belief that a variety of factors need to be taken into consideration in determining the success of these programs as youth crime prevention strategies.

Evaluations by Program Type

In their review of U.S. evaluative studies pertaining to employment and crime, Bushway and Reuter (2002) separate youth employment programs into three broad categories: 1) summer work placement programs and subsidized employment; 2) short term training (approximately six months) followed by job placement for youth who are not in school; and 3) longer-term programs with extensive training and education, a residential component, and job placement. After reviewing the literature, Bushway and Reuter (2002) concluded that evidence existed to indicate that only the latter type of intensive program is effective in reducing crime. A more in-depth look at specific program evaluations, identifying targeted youth, goals, results, and possible explanations, will yield a better understanding of the potential for youth employment programs to reduce crime.

Short-Term Initiatives for Youth Offenders

Evaluative studies reveal that low-intensity initiatives aimed at youths who have already been in contact with the youth justice system may have little effect on reducing recidivism.

For example, Uggen (2000) examined the impact of the National Supported Work Demonstration Project, Roos (2006) examined the effects of the Texas Re-Integration of Offenders-Youth (Project RIO-Y) and several research projects ((Leiber and Mawhorr, 1995), (Bushway and Reuter, 2002), (Bullis and Yovanoff, 2006)) evaluated different aspects of the Second Chance Program, offered by Juvenile Court Services in conjunction with the U.S. federal job training program (JTPA). All concluded that short term job training programs have virtually no positive effect on the future prospects of young offenders.

It is worth noting, however, that not all studies of short-term programs aimed at youth offenders have yielded such bleak results. Gates (1998) compared results from three different program options for at-risk youth. The first group consisted of 12- to 18-year-old males and females who were on parole for committing a felony. They were selected from the Ohio Department of Youth Services (DYS). The second group consisted of DYS clients who participated in the Job Training and Education Program (JTEP). This program offered education, employment skills training (including subsidized work experience) and self-development opportunities. The third group was drawn from 16- to 18-year-old Dayton Public School students who participated in the New Options for Work program (NOW). This program was aimed at students with less than eight credits and provided them the opportunity to attain their GED while receiving vocational training. The researcher found that the NOW group had the highest GED achievement rate (54 per cent), compared with the JTEP group (34 per cent) and the DYS group (only eight per cent). The JTEP group had the highest percentage of youth who acquired employment in the private sector (63 per cent), compared with NOW participants (40 per cent) and the DYS group (14 per cent). Finally the study revealed that the JTEP group had the lowest recidivism rate, with only five per cent, in comparison with the DYS group recidivism rate of 20 per cent. The researcher concludes those programs such as JTEP and NOW are helpful in providing hope and opportunities for students who have been failed by the traditional educational system. The researcher argues that a model program is one that works to further education and basic skills as well as the employability and job skills of youth.

One of the major obstacles of programs aimed at juvenile offenders seems to be that these youth often suffer from a host of other problems. These include, but are not limited to, an unstable family environment, poor school achievement, negative peer groups, drug and alcohol problems, behavioural disorders, poor social skills, and mental health issues (Home Builders Inst., 2000: 14). In other words, programs must be of sufficient length and include supports that address a broad range of issues if they are to effect a lasting change in offending youth.

Short-Term Initiatives for Other At-Risk Youth

Another group of job training and employment programs is directed at other at-risk youths, such as high school dropouts, low academic achievers, and ethnic minorities from poor neighbourhoods (although many of these programs also include prior offenders). One study revealed a positive impact on school-related deviance for participants in a school and community-based program that matched Grade 8 students from three Florida schools with mentors in an employment setting based on career interests (Rollin, 2003). Targeted students were those with academic or disciplinary problems, and the study was based on a sample of 78 program participants and 78 students making up a control group. The program took place over the school year, for approximately two hours, four days a week. Using pre- and post-test measurements, Rollin (2003) found that participation in the program significantly reduced the total number of in-school suspensions, total days of out-of-school suspensions, and the number of infractions committed on school property. This study, however, was limited by its small sample size.

Another study evaluated the impact of the BreakAway Company, a Canadian career readiness program aimed at special needs high school students and young offenders. Participants were between the ages of 12 and 17 and were drawn from high schools and open-custody residences. This was a 12-week program that involved a mock workplace in which the participants became "employees." They engaged in product planning, attended staff meetings, and received a small weekly pay. Participants also explored career options through discussion, job shadowing and short-term job placements. This program differed from many other programs that have been evaluated in that it emphasized a cognitive-behavioural model. The focus was on developing cognitive problem-solving strategies and goal-oriented behaviours that could be applied to other settings. Evaluation of this program, however, was severely limited. It was based on only 34 males and four females and did not involve a comparison with a control group. The study also revealed different outcomes according to the measurement type. While self-report measures revealed no impact on self-control or goal-oriented behaviour, reports by teachers and trained judges indicated a positive impact. There was also convincing evidence from participant interviews, most of which provided anecdotal accounts of how the students were able to apply the learning and problem-solving strategies they had been taught to other settings (Campbell, 1992).

The JOBSTART Demonstration was another program aimed at increasing the employment outcomes of disadvantaged high school dropouts between 17 and 21 years of age. The program was implemented between 1985 and 1988 at 13 different sites. The four main components of the program were: 1) basic education; 2) occupational skills training; 3) support services (such as transportation services, childcare, and counselling); and 4) job placement assistance. The average length of participation was 6.8 months and the average time spent on program activities was 400 hours, although participation varied greatly within the sample. The final evaluation of this program, based on a 48-month follow-up of 1,941 youths from the experimental and control groups, yielded mixed results (Cave et al., 1993). Program participation was associated with a significant increase in high school completion or attainment of a GED certificate (42 per cent versus 28.6 per cent for the control group). The study did not, however, reveal a positive impact on long-term employment outcomes. At the four-year follow-up, employment rates were similar for program participants and non-participants and the difference in earnings between the two groups was not statistically significant. Results for some subgroups, however, were more positive, although it is important to keep in mind that they are also based on smaller samples. In contrast to other studies that reveal little program impact on prior offenders, males who were arrested between age 16 and program entry were slightly more likely to benefit from JOBSTART participation. These males had greater earnings over the four-year period, were slightly less likely to be arrested, and were significantly less likely to use drugs. Also, for youths who had dropped out of school because they disliked school or had poor grades (rather than for employment reasons), program participation was associated with higher earnings in the third and fourth follow-up years.

One JOBSTART site, the Center for Employment Training (CET) in San Jose, California, was also found to be significantly more effective than other sites, especially with respect to participants' earnings. The nature of the study did not allow for a determination of the reasons for this, although Cave et al., (1993) emphasize the importance of employer involvement in linking youth job training to the needs of the local labour market. After the success of CET, the Department of Labor funded a larger study, the Evaluation of the Center for Employment Training Replication Sites, to determine whether the CET model could be replicated in other settings to produce similarly positive results. Between 1995 and 1999, over 1,400 youth, aged 16 to 21, were randomly assigned to the CET program group or to a control group. Unfortunately, the final report for this project indicated less positive results for the replication sites than for the original CET program under the JOBSTART Demonstration (Miller et al., 2005). The increased hours of training and receipt of credentials by program participants had no overall impact on employment or earnings after the four-and-a-half-year follow-up. The study indicated that implementation of the CET model was difficult and that only four of the 12 replication sites adhered closely to the model. Problems amongst the lower-fidelity sites included a turnover in leadership, poor funding, and low levels of participation. Miller et al. (2005) found that the replication sites had the most problems implementing the job development component because of a lack of the established relationships with local employers from which the original site had benefited. It was therefore more difficult to provide program participants with employment opportunities after training, and the authors note the importance of continually assessing the employer focus and researching local market needs.

The Quantum Opportunity Program (QOP) is another example of an employment initiative that failed to live up to the standards set by previous program results. The QOP targeted at-risk youth and was operated by the U.S. Department of Labor in conjunction with the Ford Foundation between July 1995 and September 2001. After promising results from a smaller-sample pilot study that took place between 1989 and 1994, the larger QOP project was launched, which randomly assigned 1,100 youth to either the program or non-program group. This was an after-school program for academic low-achievers from schools with high dropout rates. The program was longer in duration than many other programs, consisting of only one cohort of participants over the time period. The sample was made up of mostly Black or Hispanic youth from urban neighbourhoods. The program was based on an intensive model of 1) individual case management (with an emphasis on mentoring); 2) education; 3) community service activities; and 4) developmental activities, such as employment-readiness skills training. The program ran year-round and included opportunities for summer school and a summer job placement. After the fourth and final follow-up interview (which took place when participants were between 23 and 25 years of age), Schirm et al. (2006) found that the program failed to achieve most of its goals. It did not increase the likelihood of either high school graduation or post-secondary education/training in the long run, nor did it impact employment-related outcomes. The program also did not reduce substance abuse or crime when participants were in their teens, and program participation was actually associated with a greater likelihood of involvement with the criminal justice system when participants were in their early twenties. This study is particularly useful in revealing many of the problems associated with implementing a more intensive employment program. The researchers found that the case managers often could not dedicate the time that was required for effective mentorship, and the education and support services often did not meet the needs of participants. Additionally, program participants spent an average of only 24 per cent of the targeted 750 hours per year on program activities.

Job Corps

One program, the U.S. Job Corps, which has been found to be particularly effective, deserves considerable attention. This program has been hailed as the "poster child" of employment programs (Bushway and Reuter, 2002) and was deemed "the only large-scale program that has produced sustained, significant earnings gains for disadvantaged youths" to date (Burghardt et al., 2001). Job Corps is the largest, longest running, most expensive, and most extensively evaluated job training program in the U.S. Founded in 1964, the program serves over 60,000 participants between the ages of 16 and 24 each year, at a cost of $16,500 per participant. The program is aimed at disadvantaged youths (including high school dropouts, ethnic/racial minorities, and those with prior criminal histories) and the goal is "to help youths become more responsible, employable, and productive citizens" (Burghardt et al., 2001: 3). Job Corps services are delivered in three stages. The first is outreach and admissions, whereby counsellors from local and state agencies recruit eligible participants. The second stage is centre operations and includes a variety of services that are individualized to each student. Services include academic education, training in more than 75 different vocational areas, unpaid work experience opportunities, counselling, social skills training, and health education. The vocational training component was designed with the help of business and labour organizations to determine what skills were necessary for success. The final stage of the Job Corps program is placement assistance to help students find jobs in the community.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Job Corps is the large residential component, designed to provide a structured environment that supports the training that is provided. While it is not mandatory that participants live at the centres, approximately

88 per cent do. This is not a time-limited program and, although the length of stay varies among participants, the average length of participation is about eight months.

Recognizing the need for evaluation of program effectiveness, the U.S. Department of Labor sponsored the National Job Corps Study. This study involved a random sample of all eligible applicants to the program between late 1994 and 1995, with a total sample of 11,313 youth. All eligible applicants were randomly assigned to either the program group, who were able to enroll in Job Corps, or to the control group, who were not able to enroll in Job Corps but could make use of any other job training program available to them. Interviews were conducted shortly after assignment, as well as after 12, 30, and 48 months of assignment.

The results of the National Job Corps Study evaluation (Burghardt et al., 2001) are largely positive. In terms of training and education, Job Corps participants spent about five hours more per week in education or training than non-participants did, and program participation was associated with an improvement in functional literacy. Participants were also more likely to receive a GED than the control group was (42 per cent versus 27 per cent) and to receive a vocational certificate (38 per cent versus 15 per cent). However, participants were slightly less likely to complete their high school degree (five per cent versus eight per cent for non-participants) and the program had little effect on college attendance.

In terms of employment effects, the 48-month follow-up revealed that Job Corps participants had a 12 per cent earning gain over the control group and that these positive effects were likely to persist. Earning gains, however, were concentrated amongst those participants who either completed a vocational program or earned a GED. Also, for unknown reasons, the program failed to increase employment and earnings of Hispanic youth and youths between the ages of 18 and 19.

Most importantly, however, participation in Job Corps significantly reduced the likelihood of re-arrest. Within the 48-month follow-up, 29 per cent of participants were arrested, in comparison with 33 per cent of non-participants (a significant difference considering the sample size). However, the biggest difference was found in the first year, when many participants were still living in the residence, and the program had no impact on arrest rates of male non-residents. The program also had no impact on drug and alcohol use.

The success of Job Corps can be attributed to the uniform and proper implementation across sites of an intensive program model that was both individualized and self-paced. It is also suggested that the program was successful because participation rates were high and the structured environment allowed for the many barriers that participants faced to be addressed. Despite the high costs associated with the program, Job Corps was found to be a cost-effective strategy for reducing youth crime (Burghardt et al., 2001).

What Does This Tell Us About Youth Employment Programs?

The literature on youth employment generally reveals that job training and employment opportunities do not offer an easy solution to the problem of youth crime, although, as noted earlier, they may serve other positive purposes. Many program initiatives have failed to achieve their desired goals, especially with respect to long-term effects on both crime and employment-related outcomes, and even successful program models have been found difficult to replicate across different sites. This, however, should not discourage policy-makers from future efforts to use employment programs as a tool in reducing youth crime. Some programs have been implemented with positive results, and the need to aid youths in becoming law-abiding, productive and employed young adults is undeniable. The successes and failures of prior youth employment initiatives should therefore be used to guide future programs.

Perhaps the clearest point to be drawn from the literature is that initiatives to reduce youth crime must be comprehensive, taking into consideration the individual and various needs of targeted youths. For employment programs, this suggests that a focus on employment-related outcomes should be balanced with the development of other important life-skills and helping youths to overcome any other barriers to success they may face. If employment programs that target disadvantaged, "at-risk," or offending youth hope to have an impact on crime, the programs must be designed with an awareness that many of the youths may suffer from social and behavioural problems that cannot be overcome by focusing on employment outcomes alone. Other supports, such as counselling and drug abuse treatment, will often be needed to effect a lasting change. The notion of "quick fixes" to the problem of youth crime can be easily dispensed with, and long-term, intensive programs that offer a variety of employment-related services in conjunction with other support services have a greater likelihood of success.

Employment programs for youth also must be designed with an awareness of the age-graded effects of working. Employment affects youths differently from the way it affects adults, and therefore employment initiatives directed at youth must differ from those directed at adults. This is supported by the divided nature of the literature as to whether employment is helpful or harmful to youth and under what circumstances. It is clear, however, that adolescence is a time of transition and development, and youth programs must address the psychological, emotional, and social development needs of youths (Smith and Gambone, 1992). Youths cannot realistically be expected to succeed in the adult world of working if, despite sufficient job skills training, they lack social maturity. In a sense, youths must be treated as youths, preparing to enter the adult world of working, rather than as adults. Employment programs must attempt to provide youths with jobs that are age-appropriate and provide opportunities for learning and growth. There exists a clear link between youths who succeed in school and workforce success (and thus a decreased likelihood to engage in adult offending), and therefore employment programs should reinforce the importance of educational attainment where possible. However, the traditional educational system does not work for all youths and some will inevitably drop out or find themselves within the youth justice correctional setting. These youths will find it particularly difficult to succeed in the labour market, and simply providing them with opportunities to work in low-skill, low-wage jobs will likely not be enough to steer them away from potentially more rewarding criminal lifestyles. Instead, these youths must be provided with meaningful work that offers them hope for the future. The question of how this can best be achieved, however, is one that we are still in the process of answering.

The literature does suggest that one important factor in employment program success is a strong link to the local labour market. An understanding of local market and employer needs is vital in preparing youths for successful entry into the workforce. Clearly, even the most extensive job skills training will offer few benefits if there is little demand for those skills. Strong community ties and input from local employers help to ensure that youths are trained to occupational standards in demanded fields, and can also facilitate the job search process (Home Builders, 2000).

While the failure of program evaluations to provide a clear picture of employment-related crime reduction strategies underscores a need for further research, policy-makers seem to have taken the opposite route. A review of the literature reveals a lack of large-scale empirical program evaluations in recent years. Some researchers, however, suggest that a newer generation of initiatives, which differ in many ways from previously evaluated programs, provide some hope that these policies can be effective. The Sar Levitan Center for Social Policy Studies at Johns Hopkins University provides a list of principles of "what works" in relation to these programs:

- Continuous contact with caring adults
- Centrality of work
- Strong connections to employers
- Effective connections with external providers of different support services
- Continual opportunities to improve education
- Leadership development
- Positive peer support
- Opportunities to serve the community

- Motivational techniques and incentives
- Follow-up and support over a sustained period (Pines, 1999; 2000)

While support is found within program evaluations for some of these principles, others, such as contact with caring adults, positive peer support, and community service have been largely ignored in large-scale evaluations of youth employment programs. These "Levitan Principles" were subsequently incorporated into the U.S. Workforce Investment Act, and policy-makers would benefit from empirical evaluations of the actual effects of these principles. The YouthBuild programs, which operate all across the United States, for example, are cited as the types of effective programs that adhere to these principles. YouthBuild programs provide carpentry- and construction-related skills to youths aged 16 to 24 and involve them in building affordable housing in the community while they attend an alternative high school. The programs aim to provide a supportive "mini-community" that promotes positive peer relations and close and supportive relationships with caring adults, and works to develop leadership skills in the youths. Engaging youths in building houses within their community is meant to be a rehabilitative strategy that both changes the relationship between the youth and his or her community and provides an opportunity for "meaningful" work (Pines 1999). A program overview of the Minnesota YouthBuild in 1999 found that within the five-year follow-up period, only five per cent of program participants with prior criminal records reoffended (Minnesota, 2000). The YouthBuild program evaluations (and others like it), however, are not rigorous; there are no control groups with which to compare results and data collection is generally supplied by program providers and of varying quality. While such programs provide hope, they do not, without proper evaluation, provide proof of effectiveness. Therefore, rather than a formula for "what works," some of these principles may be better regarded as points for further research.

The need for further research into youth employment programs is clear, especially within Canada. The lack of Canadian literature that could be found regarding the employment and crime relationship that is youth-specific is surprising. While other studies, such as those from the United States, can be informative, there is always a risk that such findings do not generalize to Canadian youth. Policy-makers would no doubt benefit from Canadian-based evaluative studies. While such employment initiatives are intended to create opportunities for disadvantaged youth, they are also intended to achieve the goal of effecting a real and positive change. What has been learned so far about the effects of youth employment programs on youth crime is a result of empirical research and evaluation. While these studies have been informative, the inconsistent results of these evaluations reveal that there is still much to be learned with respect to implementing effective employment programs for youth. It is only with more evaluation, not less, that we can hope to learn from past mistakes rather than repeat them.

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Mentoring Strategies[18]

Adult Mentoring

The belief that the development of an adolescent can change for the better with the guidance of a mature and wiser adult is not new. What is new is the belief that these types of relationships can and will change the attitudes and behaviours of violent youth. Supporters of mentorship argue that early intervention can prevent violence in youth, and as a result, many theorize that proper mentorship can alter violent behaviours (Satchwell, 2006). This is evident as mentorship programs increasingly emerge in high-risk communities and target at-risk youth (Brown, 2008). In the United States, nearly half of all youth mentoring programs have been established within the past 10 years. Furthermore, of the established mentoring programs, only 18 per cent have been running for more than 20 years (Rhodes, 2002). Thus, it is only recently that researchers have been able to analyze this trend and evaluate the significance of such programs. In accordance with their growing popularity, many studies that examine the impact of mentoring have identified positive outcomes in regard to reducing delinquent behaviour among youth. While these studies create a sense of promise, very few have been able to provide solid empirical evidence that proves the success of mentorship's strategies. Due to a lack of in-depth study, the question that lingers amongst researchers is how effective adult mentoring is on youth over time. As this question continues to be unanswered by the academic literature, it is somewhat difficult to conclude that mentorship is the "answer" to youth violence. Despite the lack of research into mentorship's long term effects, one cannot ignore the initial positive effects such programs have had on troubled youth. The purpose of this literature review is to identify positive behaviour changes in adolescents that have been attributed to effective adult mentoring practices. In turn, this examination will help to expose the areas of mentoring that lack sufficient knowledge. An emphasis will be placed on identifying the conditions under which mentorship programs can work and under which conditions they might have neutral or even negative effects.

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[18] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Kanika Samuels, BA, undergraduate program in criminology, University of Toronto.*

The traditional notion of mentorship frequently invokes the positive image of an older, wiser adult providing compassionate guidance to a young individual. Indeed, the modern-day version of mentorship continues to emphasize the importance of a supporting relationship between an adult and adolescent. However, increasingly, mentoring is being seen as an essential component in the enhancement of an adolescent's educational, social, and personal growth (Brody, 1992). Many different individuals in an adolescent's life provide guidance, encouragement, and emotional support. "Natural" mentoring occurs when an adult voluntarily offers guidance, encouragement, and emotional support, as part of a young person's normal life course, and usually occurs between parents or related individuals and children (Beam, Chen, and Greenberger, 2002; Darling, Hamiliton and Hames, 2002) These types of positive relationships, it is argued, lead an adolescent to adopt positive behaviours and acquire specific skills (Darling, Hamiliton and Hames, 2002).

Sadly, these naturally occurring relationships are not available to every developing adolescent. Caring and supportive adults who help develop natural mentoring relationships are few in high-risk areas, as the familial, educational, and community structures are unstable for at-risk youth (Darling, Hamiliton and Hames, 2002). Traditionally, supportive relationships are provided by families and the community; however, the dynamic of these institutions has changed, and as a result, support and encouragement from positive natural relationships has decreased. One in every five Canadian children is born into a single-parent home; most of these families are "fatherless." These children are at higher risk of growing up in poverty, and are more likely to face emotional and behavioural problems, poor physical health, strained parental and peer relationships, poor academic achievement, and disengagement from school (Canadian Institute of Child Health, 2000; Canadian Council on Social Development, 2002; Lipman et al., 2002; Ross et al., 1998). In addition, declining neighbourhood safety has led to social isolation and restricted opportunities for positive and constructive relationships (Grossman and Tierney, 1998). As a result, there may be a need to develop structured relationships through the use of volunteer mentors who aim to be the supportive, caring individuals who are lacking in the lives of at-risk adolescents. Mentoring has been identified as a "structured and trusting relationship that brings young people together with caring individuals who offer guidance, support, and encouragement aimed at developing the competence and character of the mentee" (MENTOR/NationalMentoringPartnershiphttp://www.mentoring.org/mentors/about_mentoring/). In this view, mentoring is seen as an essential element of youth development and has emerged as an applicable preventative measure to decrease adolescent delinquency. The question is whether this generalization can apply to all mentorship programs. The following review of studies will focus on the practices, structures, and identified benefits of having adult volunteer mentors. Research will show that adult mentorship programs can have positive impacts on delinquent youth, but only within a focused and highly structured curriculum. Effective mentoring practices include intensive effort to provide suitable matches, proper training and monitoring, structured activities, frequent contact, and long-term relationships between the mentor and mentee. With the majority of mentorship programs created within the past few years, many lack the time and experience needed to build the foundation of a successful program. Despite this, more than 2,000 programs are established in the United States and continue to emphasize the idea that delinquent behaviours can simply change as the result of an adult-youth relationship. Every year, countless additional programs are created and the mentorship paradigm gains more momentum. Baker and Maguire (2005) examine the American public's increasing confidence in mentorship and trace its popularity from the early 1900s. The researchers identify four major stages in mentorship's development: Emergence, Establishment, Divergence and Focus.

History

The Emergence stage of the mentoring paradigm took place during the development of the industrial economy in the United States during the 20th century. A surge of technological advancements created the growth of urban centres that drew people of different ages, genders, and cultures. The influx of people opened doors for exploitation, leading to the unfair treatment of immigrants, women and children (Baker and Maguire, 2005). Overcrowding, stress, and severe poverty led to many social problems that included a rise in petty crimes among adolescents. Typical crimes among adolescents at the time included theft, smoking, loitering and absenteeism from school. These minor youth crimes resulted in harsh adult penalties that included incarceration. Social reformers eventually equated adolescent delinquency to social factors and expressed the need for differential treatment in dealing with youth delinquency. These children were viewed as "victims of circumstance" and needed formal intervention in order to prevent future delinquent acts (Baker and Maguire, 2005). Thus began a child-saving movement that sought to protect children from mistreatment, poverty, and abandonment. In response, programs like Children's Aid were established, modifications to the educational system were implemented, including mandatory attendance, and youth employment agencies were formed (Baker and Maguire, 2005). Eventually, countless experimental social programs were established that sought to change the vicious cycle of social decline and poverty among the youth of the Industrial Revolution era.

One of the successful experimental projects of the time was the Hull House. Hull House, established in 1889, was a settlement facility started by the female philanthropist Jane Addams. Using her social and economic influence, Addams gained public support to create residences in impoverished areas that would be used by families in need of social, economic, cultural, and intellectual encouragement (Baker and Maguire, 2005). She promoted equal rights for all individuals and demanded the fair treatment of impoverished youth. She felt that poverty-stricken communities could thrive if all members would learn to embrace one another. The principle that drove Addams's mission was her belief that poverty and lack of opportunity triggered problems in high-risk communities. Addams' took a particular interest in youth problems because she felt that the increase in youth delinquency and crime were the result of economic disparity and social deprivation as opposed to individual pathology. Addams and her colleagues took it upon themselves to protect children from harsh treatment within the court system and acted as advocates, guardians, and mentors for youth (http://www.hullhouse.org/aboutus/history.html).

Addams and her colleagues were important figures in the creation of the first juvenile court in the United States, established in 1899. They attended court and acted as supporters for children charged with crimes. When they saw a great need for more support, Addams and colleagues raised the support and resources needed to start the Juvenile Protection Association (Baker and Maguire, 2005). With the help of 20 probation officers, Addams sought to change social conditions that she felt amplified delinquent acts among troubled youth. The JPA also helped to stop the selling of alcohol and tobacco to adolescents. Finally, they advocated turning old unused buildings into social recreation centres for youth, led by supportive adults (Levine and Levine, 1992). Thus began the mentoring movement.

The Establishment stage of mentoring rose as the idea of the "helping hand" made its way into the popular culture. The Big Brothers/Big Sisters movement, for example, came at the same time as the establishment of the juvenile court. During this time, the juvenile courts recruited influential men to befriend and support children who were brought before the justice system. Similarly, in New York City, an organization called the Ladies of Charity of New York City, arranged for women to be present and support children appearing in court. It was at this time that the early stages of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America organization began. Ernest Coulter, a court clerk for the mayor, was a strong voice in the promotion of adult volunteering to assist and guide troubled youth. His main goal was to provide needy children and adolescents with positive adults to provide a guiding relationship. Jacob Riis, a prominent social reformer during this time, encapsulated Coulter's adult–adolescent movement by saying,

> If each of you were to be a neighbor, brother, to one of these little ones and see him through, forty would be saved from shipwreck. It is not the law the lad needs, but justice, the kind of justice which only a brother can give – the love, the friendship, for which his life has been starving. All the rest will come on the trail of that (Coulter, 1913).

Coulter was later credited with the creation of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters movement. Subsequently, organizations like Chicago Women's Club, New York Jesuit Big Sisters and Protestant Big Sisters were formed in many cities. Mentorship gained widespread support from social powerhouses, including the Vanderbilt family as well as Jane Addams (Baker and Maguire, 2005). Despite little evidence that proved its effectiveness, the idea of mentorship grew in popularity and approval with the public. As mentorship gained momentum in the public sphere, scientific researchers gained an interest and sought answers on how mentorship might work.

The idea of mentorship gained support and appeared to be a valid tool to combat youth delinquency. However, recidivism rates among youth continued to grow. As a result, the Divergence stage of mentoring emerged, as mentoring veered from the interests of social reformers towards the science of crime and delinquency prevention (Baker and Maguire, 2005). Psychology, "hailed as the science of the mind," gained momentum during the early 20th century. There was a particular interest in children. Psychologist Lightner Witner opened the first psychological clinic at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896. In regard to adolescent delinquency, he saw delinquency as a result of environmental factors and therefore as open to rehabilitation through scientific evaluation and treatment (Witner, 1911). Chicago Juvenile Court Judge Merrit W. Pinckney was the first to act on the phenomenon and formed a committee to establish a unique institute that would assist in the physical and psychological examination of children brought before the court. In 1909, the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute was founded by Ethel Dummer and William Healy. The institute set out to collect data on the characteristics of delinquency, its cause, and its possible treatments. The institute gained extensive support from within the medical, psychological and social service fields. Adolescent delinquency was no longer viewed as a social construct, but as an individual flaw that could be best understood from scientific evaluation by medical personnel (Levine and Levine, 1992; Jones, 1999).

In response to increased interest in scientific evaluations, physician Clarke Cabot conducted the first methodical study on the effects of mentorship. The Cambridge–Somerville Youth Study (CSYS), named after the two participant communities, began in 1936 and sought to discover how delinquency developed and how to improve youth development and prevent delinquent behaviour. A sample of 500 children was drawn, and each child was paired with respect to numerous factors that included age, intelligence, and family histories. Each pair was randomly selected to either appear in the treatment group, which received a mentor, or in the control group, which received no mentor. For the next six years, the treatment group participated in various social, educational and health services with the guidance of an adult mentor. Cabot hypothesized that delinquent children were a product of their environment and that the treatment group would benefit from the guidance of a mentor (Powers and Witner, 1951). The study, however, only found marginal differences between the treatment and control group, leading many to question the benefits of mentorship. In 1975, McCord interviewed the original participants of the CSYS study, who were now middle-aged, to examine long-term effects. Data was collected from 1975 to 1981 and included testimonials, court records, mental hospital records, alcohol treatment facilities records, and death records. Testimonials from the treated group presented positive results, but compared with the control group, McCord (1992) found that the treatment group was actually more likely to have engaged in serious street crime, died five years younger, and was more likely to be treated for alcoholism, schizophrenia, and manic depression. McCord even found that the longer an adolescent was involved in mentorship, the more negative the outcomes. It should be noted, however, that mentorship was only a part of the treatment, one of many services offered to the adolescent, making it hard to pinpoint which service was detrimental and which was not. This study was damaging to the mentoring phenomenon, and it continues to be discussed in contemporary research. However, the efforts of programs like Big Brothers/Big Sisters continued to express the importance of mentorship relationships. As a result, further studies were conducted to evaluate mentorship's effectiveness. Many of these studies produced much more positive results.

This led to mentorship's final historical stage: Focus. The CSYS opened doors to many interpretations and analyses. While it was an impressive study for its time, it was chaotic in structure. The mentor assigned to each child acted as a social worker, and as a mentor, and also completed various data-reporting duties, making it difficult to separate positive and negative interventions. As a result, it was difficult to reach definitive conclusions in regard to mentoring. The 1960s, however, saw a stronger focus on mentorship. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy signed the Community Mental Health Centers Act, which would supply the necessary funds to develop community health centres. President Lyndon Johnson followed by supporting programs designed to combat poverty through improved health care and education (Meritt, Greene, Jopp and Kelly, 1999). Similar to the child-saving movement in the late 1800s, community psychology advocates equated pathology to the social environment rather than to psychological flaws. As a result, non-professional volunteers were being sought to aid in treatment. Mentors were being recruited, and studies later emphasized evaluating the characteristics of good mentors. Goodman (1972) conducted a notable study where he recruited college students to act as mentors to troubled school-aged boys as they went through programs that offered developmental skills. One hundred and sixty school-aged boys participated, with 88 boys receiving treatment with a mentor and 74 receiving treatment with no mentor. The study found marginal differences between the two groups. However it did raise questions surrounding the preparation involved in mentoring programs, as well as the characteristics and needs of selected mentors. Contemporary research continued to focus on these aspects of mentorship, but more recently, studies have delved deeper and have looked into the characteristics of the mentees themselves.

Risk Factors

In this section, risk factors that may contribute to violent behaviour among adolescents are examined. Many at-risk youth tend to have similar characteristics and life experiences. While the characteristics give little insight into the individual adolescent, identifying certain factors may help to identify youth who are at risk of engaging in violence and help gauge areas of concern with a mentee. The Public Health Agency of Canada (2008) posits that violence among youth is something that is learned from a young age. There is no one factor that results in a violent adolescent; however, the presence of multiple risk factors increases the chances that an adolescent will engage in violent behaviour. Research has shown that there are a number of factors that can lead to youth violence (Satchwell, 2006). These factors are characteristics that consistently arise in youth who are brought before the justice system. The factors are not meant to be interpreted as the sole predictors of violent behaviour, though they often coincide. Nonetheless, the factors give a better insight into the lives of troubled youth. It has been identified that the most consistent predictors of violent behaviour for adolescents include:

- Weak social ties
- Anti–social and delinquent peers
- Low IQ and anti-social attitudes and beliefs
- Gang membership
- Engagement in other forms of delinquency.

In regard to familial and environmental factors, consistent predictors of violent behaviour for adolescents include:

- Living in a disorganized, low socio–economic status community
- Living in a neighbourhood with high crime rates
- Family history of anti-social or abusive behaviour (e.g., alcohol, drugs, physical or verbal abuse)
- Poor parent-child interaction or family conflict.

The pioneers of mentorship's establishment held the belief that delinquent behaviour was learned, and therefore could be prevented. What they failed answer was how the process of mentorship worked, and how to prevent future delinquent and violent behaviour. The following section introduces popular theories that help to understand mentorship and why it has been viewed as an influential preventative tool with regard to adolescent delinquency.

How Mentoring Works

Resilience Theory

Resilience theory holds the belief that certain individuals possess specific characteristics that allow them to recover from and survive situations like family violence, poverty and emotional abuse. Researchers have identified certain traits, circumstances, and situations that help vulnerable children and youth recover. Protective factors that are found to advance resilience include 1) ***characteristics of the individual***, such as intellect and character; 2) ***characteristics of family***, such as its stability, level of closeness, and socio-economic advantages; and 3) ***characteristics of the community,*** such as relationships with non-related adults who act as positive role models (Masten and Costsworth, 1998). The act of mentorship corresponds well with the idea of resiliency. Resilient children often have at least one important non-related adult in their lives (Rhodes, 2002). Reviewing literature on European and Israeli children in war, Rhodes found that children adapted to the stress because, often, a non-related adult represented "efficacy and control" in a time of disorder and confusion. The same philosophy can be applied to children of disorganized environments. In the midst of negativity, a mature and caring figure may represent structure and encouragement.

The idea behind mentoring is that it can positively change youth who experience negative risk factors. The Compensatory Model of resiliency holds that positive influences in a youth's life can offset negative influences within the family or wider community. For example, a youth who is surrounded by peers who engage in violent conduct is at risk of engaging in similar behaviour. However, that youth may resist, with the presence of positive influences such as an encouraging mentor (Garmezy, Masten and Tellegen, 1984). The Protective Model of resiliency holds that supportive individuals may help to decrease the "cause and effect" of negative influences. (Zimmerman, Bingenheimer and Behrendt, 2005). In a study of adolescent youth, Zimmerman et al. (1998) found that the association between having violent friends (cause) and violent adolescent male behaviour (effect) was lower among youth who had a strong bond with and support from their immediate families (protective factor). The theory strongly supports mentoring, as mentoring can act as a crucial component for positive development in adolescents. In essence, a mentor can offer youth who face negative external pressures the guidance, support and care that is needed to counteract the negative consequences of risk factors.

Psychologist Michael Rutter (1987) found that at-risk children with at least one good relationship were less likely to develop behavioural problems. In an earlier study, Rutter (1983) found that minority children from single-parent, low socio-economic backgrounds were less likely to drop out of school if they had the presence of a positive influential extended family member or other supportive adult. Based on self-report studies, it is safe to say that the influence of a positive, supportive and caring (non-parental) adult can have many beneficial effects on youth experiencing difficult situations. However, one should not assume that naturally occurring relationships can be reproduced by programs that artificially place an adolescent with an adult mentor (Hamilton and Hamilton, 1992) Mentoring should not be used as a substitute for proper parenting and community support (Rhodes et al., 2002). It is only recently that studies have been able to identify benefits of mentoring, which will be discussed later in this review.

Attachment Theory

Attachment theory holds that an early bond with an influential family member, like a parent, sets the psychological foundation for one's perception of self-worth (Bowlby, 1969). Self-esteem is important during a youth's development because it gauges how an individual will act in the face of insecurity. In a situation where one might feel powerless, an individual with a strong sense of self can feel a sense of power. Those with a positive outlook on life will be able to control negative reactions to challenges and develop adaptive coping skills (Satchwell, 2006). This theory corresponds well with the idea of "natural" mentoring (as defined in the introduction) and exemplifies the importance of having a positive individual as an influence. Research conducted by Yates, Egeland and Sroufe (2003) found that positive attachment developed early in children leads to an increased ability to adjust after periods of turmoil. The finding is reminiscent of the philosophy behind resilience. Bowlby (1988) expands on the theory and states that the beginning of a child's ability to build on a relationship is based on early experiences with his or her parents, which demonstrates the importance of strong familial bonds. However, when this is lacking in the life of disadvantaged children, non-familial adults can act as an ego ideal and a child can learn positive adult behaviours and develop valuable skills for the future (Rhodes et al., 2002). It is the foundation of attached relationships that gives an adolescent a sense of worth. Those with positive perceptions of self-worth engage less in risky behaviour (Satchwell, 2006).

Search Method

The purpose of this literature review is to identify effective mentoring practices that lead to violence prevention among youth. A search for articles relating to mentoring programs was conducted in the Scholars Portal under the Psychology and Sociology databases. A search for the term "youth mentoring" was conducted, and a combined total of 276 scholarly articles were retrieved. A specific time period was not selected, in order to track mentorship's history and progress. The search was refined to include at-risk youth, limiting the search to 77 articles. Of these articles, only three specifically discussed mentoring as a tool for violence prevention. As a result, a section in this literature review will include studies that discuss the overall benefits of mentorship for at-risk youth. A deeper analysis of the three articles that specifically address violent behaviour among youth will be conducted later in this review. With a limited amount of articles with which to make a fair assessment of the impact of mentoring on violence prevention, this review will include a discussion on the more general outcomes of mentoring for at-risk adolescents.

Despite the lack of studies that specifically address violence prevention as an outcome of mentoring, a review of all studies that involve at-risk youth is important. Research shows that certain behaviours and environmental circumstances are valid predictors of violent conduct (Brown, 2008). Poor academic achievement and anti-social behaviours, for example, have been identified as risk factors that lead to violent behaviour (McCord, 1992). Review of the positive and negative outcomes that have been identified in relation to mentorship will now be reviewed and discussed.

General Mentorship Studies

Jackson (2002) studied the outcome of a mentoring program designed for at-risk junior high school children prone to delinquent and disruptive behaviours in school. Using a non-control design, 13 at-risk students (six boys and seven girls) were randomly selected, all of whom were children in danger of school suspension or expulsion for delinquent behaviour that included bullying, physical fighting, smoking, and drinking on school property. The program recruited university students, who successfully completed several child development, psychopathology, and intervention courses to become mentors. The mentors were required to spend a minimum of 15 hours a week with their mentees for the duration of the academic year. Activities included going to mall, having dinner, going out for lunch, watching movies, working on homework, or simply spending some time together. For the duration of the study, both mentor and mentee were supervised by a licensed child psychologist. The mentor was also required to meet with the psychologist two hours per week to review information on child psychology, causes, characteristics of delinquent behaviour, intervention techniques, and also problem-solving strategies for managing difficulties in the mentor–mentee relationship.

By the end of the study, Jackson (2002) found changes in internal behaviour (anxiety, depression, somatization), and external behaviour (aggression, hyperactivity, conduct problems), but found minimal change in adaptive skills (adaptability, leadership, social skills, study skills). Based on the observations of both the adolescent's parents and teachers, Jackson measured the behavioural changes at four intervals throughout the year. Parents found that most negative internal and external behaviour traits decreased over time, most notably aggression and attention problems. Teachers found similar results, and found that the number of school infractions decreased significantly with all except one mentee. By the end of the program, all of the children had few or no new school infractions recorded against them.

Summary of the Jackson Study

- Results show that mentoring can have an effect on reducing external and internal behaviours, as parents and teachers reported positives changes in behaviour during the course of the mentoring program

- Mentees reported that they felt they were being treated with respect and admiration, and these feelings helped increase self-esteem in many of the children.

- Intensive supervision is a beneficial component of a program, as mentors reported that they felt more supported and were clear about their responsibilities as a result of constant supervision and the weekly classroom visits.

- Meetings allowed mentors to share their experiences and frustrations. Weekly reviews of child psychology allowed them to apply their educational background to their personal experiences with their mentees.

- Mentees did not demonstrate significant gains in adaptive skills during or after the program. Mentoring may reduce maladaptive behaviours, but may not improve behaviours that were chronic and stable. In essence, the mentor represents one positive role model, and this does not combat the destructive environments that mentees live in. Many of the mentees had a parent or a sibling incarcerated at the time the study. Many also had some sort of relation to gang membership. Having a new positive influence may be a first step, but is not adequate to transform all behaviours for children with a history of delinquent conduct.

Keating et al. (2002) conducted an experimental control design study that evaluated an extensive mentoring program that targets at-risk youth. Participants of the mentoring program were referred children and adolescents who were deemed to be at risk of engaging in delinquent behaviour. Reasons for referral included fighting, behaviour problems in school or in the community, emotional problems, poor grades or school attendance, or engagement in minor crimes (theft). The program concentrated on providing children in need of positive adult influences with well-trained mentors. Mentors were screened for their time commitment and appropriateness for involvement in the program. They were required to attend training sessions designed to educate them about child development, warning signs of child abuse, how to interact with troubled youth, and finally, conflict solutions for dealing with troubled youth. Mentors had to check in every week for seminars and follow-up. Every effort was made to match an adolescent with someone according to gender, ethnicity, age, geographical location, and common interests, as well as personal preferences of both the mentor and mentee. The program required a minimum of three hours each week with a mentee, and consisted of activities that included going to sporting events, movies, the park, and group activities sponsored by the program to promote social and life skills.

The experiment matched 34 adolescents with a mentor and compared them with 34 adolescents who were placed on a waiting list for a mentor. Participants were between the ages of 10 and 17, 65 per cent male and 35 per cent female. Thirty-two per cent identified themselves as Caucasian, 24 per cent as African-American, 37 per cent as Latino, three per cent as Asian, and three per cent as "other." The study conducted a pre-test/post-test design, which had the adolescent as well as the adolescent's parent and teachers participate in pre-test/post-test interviews with a six-month gap. Youth completed a Hopelessness Scale for Children questionnaire (Kazdin et al., 1986), Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale (Piers, 1984), and the Self-Report Delinquency Scale (Elliot et al., 1985), and parents and teachers completed a Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach and Edelbrock, 1991).

After six months, parents and teachers reported a decrease in both internalizing and externalizing behaviours among the intervention group. The same degree of change was not reported with regard to the non-intervention group. Over all, mentoring seemed to affect various levels of problematic behaviours among at-risk youth. Mentoring appeared to keep behavioural and emotional problems from getting worse. It should be noted that the children were receiving other forms of support that included school and family counselling. Mentorship was not the only form of intervention, and the control group was also involved with the additional program. Therefore, it is evident that the presence of a mentor increased benefits. Mothers of African-American youth reported less improvement in internalizing and externalizing behaviours then their non-African-American counterparts did. However, the mothers reported low incidence of those behaviours in the pre-intervention stage. This should not be focused on, as African-Americans represented a small portion of the study. However, these results do raise questions about whether the effects of mentorship differ with ethnicity.

Summary of the Keating Study

- Over all, mentoring was successful in helping to decrease problematic behaviours, thus suggesting that exposure to caring adults can help disadvantaged youth feel better about themselves and others.

- Mentoring seemed to help keep youth who were in the beginning stages of developing behavioural and emotional problems from getting worse.

- Teachers and mothers reported changes in school-related problems, even though the program did not put an emphasis on influencing school life.

- Only 54 per cent reported that their mentors were the most supportive persons in their lives. Many of them had others support systems like school, family counselling, therapy, or participation in another program. So, one cannot assume that it was the mentorship component of the program that caused all these changes. However, mentoring was a component and change was predominant amongst the children paired with a mentor.

- The study showed a difference in level of change between the African-American and non-African-American mentees. This helps to raise the question of whether mentorship programs should be modified based on ethnicity, gender, age, etc. Mentoring can affect an adolescent in many different ways. Emotional bonds, mutual engagement, genuineness, and a sense of empowerment may differ among mentees going through the same structured program (Liang et al., 2002). Mentoring relationships begin with trust, respect, and understanding (Rhodes, 2002), and this may be difficult to achieve with a different race/ethnicity dynamic between mentor and mentee.

The next study that we examined took place in Australia. Lemmon (2005) studied a mentorship program that provided at-risk adolescents with job opportunities that ranged from the fast food industry to office services. The youth involved in the program included individuals with noted substance abuse problems or criminal histories, as well as victims of serious assault, neglect, and abuse. The program aimed to reduce the cycle of social disadvantage and provide employment opportunities that may not have been easily accessible. Youth were paired with a mentor who acted as a role model and an employment advisor. Lemmon initially interviewed 10 women in the program and followed up three years later to track their progress. Lemmon found that all 10 women stopped or reduced their substance use. Lemmon concluded that mentorship was not the sole agent of change, but that it did enhance positive effects, because it promoted connectedness, guidance during difficult times, and the building of close personal relationships. In essence, mentorship may increase its benefits when it operates in conjunction with other treatment initiatives.

Summary of the Lemmon Study

- Connection to a positive community (employment) helped change past negative substance use behaviours.
- When mentoring is integrated with other services that include employment and educational services, it can enhance a participant's success. This is a result of having a positive individual to build a close personal relationship with and with whom to discuss life experiences.

The next study involves the goal of drug-use prevention among at-risk youth. LoScuito et al. (1996) evaluated the outcome of a mentoring program that aimed to prevent drug use among at-risk grade six students attending three public middle schools in Philadelphia. Most of these students are at-risk for substance abuse issues, as they face poverty, high-crime neighbourhoods, and low academic achievement. Through the support of volunteer mentors, the program is designed to increase resiliency among youth by helping with the development of awareness, self-confidence, and skills needed to resist drugs and overcome social disadvantages. Mentors were carefully recruited, screened and trained. The mentors were continuously supervised and supported by project staff. Each mentor was responsible for one or two students and was required to meet with them at least four hours per week during the school year. Activities included attendance at sporting events, assistance with school work, or attending community service activities together. The program also promoted a life skill curriculum that focused on stress management, self-esteem, problem-solving, substance knowledge, health information, and social networking. Through class discussion, homework assignments, and role-play activities, the program allowed students to apply these skills in real-life situations. Community service activities were another component, and included biweekly, hour-long visits to residents in nursing homes in order to spend time with the elders in their community. Lastly, the program included a workshop for parents of the troubled youths to develop effective parenting styles. The mentor and mentee participated together in all aspects of the program.

Using a pre-test/post-test control group design, willing grade six students were randomly selected and placed into one of three groups. Group 1 was a control group that received no intervention (189 students). Group 2 participated in the life skills program, community service, and the parent workshop (193 students). Group 3 participated in the life skills program, engaged in community service, and attended parent workshops. However, this particular group also received an adult mentor (180 students). The pre-test found no significant differences in the three groups. A post-test was administered at the end of every academic year for three years. The final sample (students completing both the pre-test and the post-test) included 562 students, of whom 52.2 per cent were African-American, 32.8 per cent were Caucasian, and 15 per cent identified themselves as "other." Results show that in Group 2 (students who engaged in life skills programs, community service and parenting workshops), attitudes differed from the control group that received no intervention. Group 2 had better attitudes towards elders, their own well-being, reactions to situations involving drug use and community service. However, these students did not improve on attitudes towards school or the future and showed slightly more drug use. Group 3 students (students who engaged in the program with a mentor) showed significant improvement in most categories, the highest being in attitude towards school, future, elders, and themselves, as well as in attitudes towards drug use and in frequency of substance use. Mentored students also showed fewer days absent from school, and teachers found that students who were more involved with their mentor had the fewest absent days. Over all, the study supports the hypothesis that mentorship positively affects the attitudes and behaviours of at-risk youth.

Summary of the LoSciuto et al. Study

- At-risk mentees who had the most involvement with their mentors experienced the most positive outcomes.
- Mentees reported having more positive attitudes to school, their future, older people and participation in community service. In turn, this increased their sense of self-worth, reduced feelings of sadness and loneliness, and discouraged use of alcohol or drugs.
- Mentees increased their school attendance.
- Mentoring benefits increased when combined with a curriculum that involved positive coping skills and strategies for dealing with negative influences (drugs, alcohol, negative peers).
- This particular mentorship program involved the participation of the youth's parents, peers, school and neighbourhood. This social strategy helped to recognize the importance of relationships with adults in a youth's life (for the present and future) and may have positively affected the way the youths viewed their future relationships.

The following study examines the effectiveness of one of the oldest mentorship programs. In a two-year study, Grossman and Tierney (1998) examined the impact of Big Brothers/Big Sisters youth participants. Using a random control pre-test/post-test design, they found that youth with mentors were less likely to start using illegal drugs or alcohol, and were less likely to hit someone or skip school. They also found that students were more confident in their school performance and developed better relationships with their families. Mentors were required to meet with their mentee two to four times per month for at least a year, with a meeting usually lasting three to four hours. The program did not aim to target specific problems with a youth, but rather to simply have an adolescent develop a friendship with an adult friend. Many times, this would help to filter any problems or concerns that were specific to that child. Volunteer mentors were carefully screened to ensure that they would form positive relationships, have the ability to meet necessary time commitments, and would be safe for youth participants. Volunteers completed intensive training and continued to be supervised and supported. Youth participants were also screened to ensure that they wanted mentors and that their parents wanted mentors for them.

Eight BBBS agencies were selected to participate in the study, using a random design. Half of the applicants to the agencies were randomly selected for the control group and placed on a waiting list for a mentor for 18 months. The other half were randomly selected to be matched with a mentor and were studied for 18 months. The adolescents ranged from 10 to 16 years of age. The final sample included 959 youth participants (487 treatment and 472 control). A little more than half of the participants were boys (62.4 per cent). Fifty-six per cent of the participants were visible minorities (71 per cent Black, 18 per cent Latino; rest were from a variety of other racial groups). Forty per cent were in households that received public assistance. Twenty-five per cent had been in homes where there had been divorce or a family history of alcohol or substance abuse, or had been victims of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse.

The findings showed the following:

Anti-Social Behaviours

- Compared with the control group, 45.8 per cent of BBBS mentees were less likely to start using illegal drugs during the study. During the follow-up period, 11.47 per cent of the control group started to engage in drug use.
- Of the mentees, 24.7 per cent were less likely to start drinking alcohol than the control youths were. The impact was greatest among minority girls, who were less than half as likely to start drinking alcohol.

- Forty-one per cent of both the treatment and the control youths reported hitting at least one person during the previous year. However, during the study period, mentees reported 32 per cent fewer incidents of hitting someone than the control group did.

- The study found no impact on how often the youth stole or damaged property over the year.

Academic Attitudes, Behaviours and Performance

- BBBS mentees reported a slight increase in their grades compared with their controlled counterparts. Minority Little Sister participants were the most responsive.

- School attendance among mentees increased. Mentees skipped school 52 per cent fewer days than the control group did. Mentees were less likely (30 per cent) to skip a day of school at all.

- By the end of the study, mentees felt more confident in their ability to complete their school work then did the control youth.

Family and Peer Relationships

- BBBS mentees had more trust in their parents than control counterparts did. More of an increase was found in white Little Brothers. The increase was attributed to better communication and less anger and alienation.

Self–Concept

- There was no significant difference between mentees and the control group in regard to self-worth, social acceptance, or self-confidence; however, there was a significant increase among white Little Brothers in their perceptions of their social acceptance or popularity among their peers.

Social and Cultural Enrichment

- There was no overall difference between BBBS mentees and the control group. This finding is surprising, as many youth participants joined the program for more opportunities to experience social and cultural events that include museum trips and attending plays and sports events.

Over all, the study provides some evidence that mentorship can be beneficial to a youth's development.

Summary of the Grossman and Tierney Study

- Compatibility between the mentor and mentee is of utmost importance.
- The success of mentorship increases with the following procedures:
  - Screening must weed out mentors who cannot satisfy time commitments or who may pose a risk to a child.
  - Matching must take into account the preferences of the youths, their families and the volunteers.
  - Close supervision and support for each match by a case manager who makes frequent contact with parents, the volunteer, and the youth is important in order to provide assistance if problems were to ever arise.
  - Training that includes communication, tips on relationship-building, and guidance on ways to interact with a young person should be provided.
- A positive role model can reduce the likelihood of drug and alcohol use. It can also positively affect a child's academic achievement and improve relationships with parents and peers.
- High level of contact between the mentor and mentee is important for the relationship to develop and succeed. Relationships need to be built using the approach that defines the mentor as a friend, not a teacher or a preacher. The mentor is meant to support and not blatantly try to change the mentee's behaviour or character.

David J. De Wit et al. – Review of Big Brothers/Big Sisters – a Canadian Perspective

The following study conducted by De Wit et al. holds great significance, because it is one of few studies that examine Big Brothers/Big Sisters programs from a Canadian perspective. The American equivalent of this study (Grossman and Tierney, 1998), examined earlier in this paper, found that the program was beneficial, as mentored youth were less likely to start using illegal drugs or alcohol, and less likely to hit someone or skip school. Mentees were more confident in their school performance and developed better relationships with their families. De Wit et al. (2007) conducted a randomized control study of two Canadian Big Brothers/Big Sisters agencies, which included 71 families and 30 adult mentors. Thirty-nine families were randomly placed in a BBBS program, while 32 families were placed on a waiting list for a BBBS mentor. Questionnaires were administered to children and their parents before the initial study as well as 12 months after analysis. In a 12-month follow-up period, another questionnaire was given to parents and mentors and face-to-face interviews were conducted with the children. The study found that there were non-significant outcomes as between the intervention and control groups in most areas. However, results did reveal that the intervention group slightly benefited in regard to symptoms of emotional problems, symptoms of social anxiety, teacher social support and social skills.

Child behavioural problems were measured by the response of the child and parent to a Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 2001; Goodman, Meltzer and Bailey, 1998). Depression was measured based on the children's response using the Centre of Epidemiology Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977). Academic performance was measured by child and parent reports. Peer self–esteem was measured using the peer dimension of the HARE self-esteem scale (Shoemaker, 1980). Children's social support was measured using the Survey of Children's Social Support (Dubow and Ullman, 1989). Children's attachment to school was measured using a scale designed to assess attitudes towards school (De Wit et al., 2007). Children's social skills were measured using the Elementary Level Student and Parent Forms of Social Rating Skills Rating System (Flanagan et al., 1996; Gresham and Elliot, 1990). Notable characteristics of the sample include the following: 51 per cent of the children were boys, 77 per cent came from single-parent homes, 35 per cent were visible minorities, and finally, the majority came from low socio-economic status backgrounds. The majority of the mentors were from white European ethnic backgrounds and were educated (88 per cent were in university or had completed university. Most were involved in full-time employment and lived in households with incomes of more than $40,000.

Summary of the De Wit et al. study

- Results show that there were only minor differences between the intervention and control groups. There were no significant improvements in regard to substance use, conduct problems, aggression and misbehaviours at school. However, results did reveal that the intervention group slightly benefited in regard to symptoms of emotional problems, symptoms of social anxiety, teacher social support and social skills.

- Results like these prove to be disappointing to supporters who argue for mentorship's overall success. However, the study exemplifies the fact that mentorship's success may run into difficulties when it involves adolescents facing extreme social and behavioural problems (Grossman and Johnson, 1998). Integrated behaviours may not change in short-term mentorship relationships, but require stable and long-term support (De Wit et al., 2007). Past research has shown that BBBS relationships may require a two-to-three-year partnership before benefits become evident (Frecknall and Luks, 1992; Furrano, Roaf, Styles and Branch, 1993).

- Problems among youth require careful monitoring and strict supervision. Mentorship programs can only provide a limited level of support. This demonstrates the fact that volunteer mentors cannot replace the roles and responsibilities of a parent (McPartland and Nettles, 1991) Beam et al. (2002) found that mentorship programs that included parental involvement had increased success.

- Over all, the study provides evidence that mentorship can produce positive effects in regard to emotional problems, symptoms of social anxiety, teacher social support and social skills. However deeper social and behavioural problems, like substance use, conduct problems, aggression, and misbehaviours at school may require intensive monitoring.

Overview of "Non-Violent" Mentorship Studies

In accordance with the Attachment theory, mentoring is believed to enhance an adolescent's social and emotional development. By providing care and support, mentors can combat negative views that adolescents may hold about the self, thus increasing an adolescent's ability to connect with positive and influential peers (Rhodes, 2002). If the mentor exemplifies knowledge, skills and behaviours that equate with future success, the adolescent will benefit. This is especially true for lower-income adolescents who may have insufficient role models, which may affect their belief in opportunity and success (Rhodes, 2002). From the studies reviewed, there is an overall consensus that mentorship does benefit at-risk youth. In many instances, we see pro–social changes that lead to a decrease in many destructive behaviours. For instance, decreased use of drugs and alcohol was noted in many of the studies. Positive views about the self and the future contributed to better academic achievement and better relationships with family and peers. However, it is important to note that mentorship was simply a component in additional curricula in all of the reviewed studies. The benefits of mentoring seem to increase when it operates in combination with a curriculum that stresses the development of positive skills and strategies for the future. How do these findings relate to violent behaviour? In many of the previous studies, various forms of defiant behaviours were used as a measurement to define at-risk youth. With the belief that aggression is developed from childhood, there is a strong indication that the strongest risk factors for youth violence include school withdrawal, poor academic achievement, absenteeism, tardiness, and poor peer relations (Borum, 2000; Denenberg, Denenberg and Braverman, 1998; Herrenkohl et al., 2000). Borum (2000) specifically states that school violence is the result of academic failure and poor school attachments. In accordance with Resilience Theory, the presence of a positive figure decreases the chances of an adolescent's engaging in delinquent behaviour. If a positive individual intervenes during the various stages of youth development, there is a potential for negative behaviours to be reversed (Dubois, Holloway, Valentine and Cooper, 2002). The following section examines the use of mentorship as preventative intervention with respect to future violent behaviours.

Mentoring Programs and Violence Prevention

The following studies specifically examine mentorship and its effects on youth violence. The previous section of this review highlighted many positive results that help to increase confidence in mentorship's use. We see that mentorship can have a major impact on at-risk youth; however, many questions still surround its effectiveness. There are varying levels of social disadvantage for children placed with a mentor. How can you address the needs and risks appropriately for every child? Violent behaviour may be a result of an array of factors that includes poverty, crime, abuse and behavioural issues (Rhodes et al., 2002). Not one study in the previous section was able to pinpoint the trajectory of change. By failing to address this topic, there continues to be a level of superficiality with respect to the mentorship paradigm (Rhodes, 2002). It is important to study all aspects of mentorship because that will shed light on what works and what does not. Without proper analysis, studies will continue to produce assumptions on how mentorship works. The following section will take a different approach and will review the quality and structure of the research design, and in turn, will help extract issues that continue to be unresolved. The following studies are presented by quality of evaluation. All three studies are similar in their area of concern and examine mentorship's role in violence prevention. However, the three are significantly different in presentation and methodology. A low-quality study will be examined first. The study includes a pre–test/post-test design; however, the findings rely solely on self-reported testimonials, which limits scientific evaluation. A medium-quality study will follow, which examines a mentoring program whose distinct objective is to prevent violence among young

African-American males. Again, the design lacks scientific evaluation. Finally, a high-quality study is examined, which compares mentored youth with non-mentored at-risk youth using a highly structured pre-test/post-test design.

Study 1: A Qualitative Evaluation of a Mentor Program for At-Risk Youth: The Participants' Perspective by Diane de Anda (2001)

De Anda (2001) examines the first year of a mentor program called Project R.E.S.C.U.E (Reaching Each Student's Capacity Utilizing Education). Firefighters served as mentors to at-risk high school youth situated in a low-income urban environment with elevated rates of youth and violent crime. Characteristics of the youth involved in the program included risk of dropping out of school, poor academic achievement, criminal delinquent behaviour, gang affiliations and substance abuse. De Anda (2001) theorized that the mentors would provide at-risk youth with a role model who could provide experiences that would not otherwise be available to them. This included psychological and emotional support to encourage behavioural and attitudinal improvements. The purpose of recruiting firefighters was to present a figure who would encourage an adolescent's social and emotional development and educational and career motivation. The mentors and mentees were encouraged to meet on a weekly basis to spend time together to talk, complete homework, talk about vocational aspirations and engage in activities that involved common interests, but the time involved was left up to individual schedules. The study involved nine African-Americans, eight Latinos, and one bi-ethnic mentee. De Anda collected qualitative data to evaluate the findings. Using audio-taped interviews, de Anda interviewed the mentees before the study began and one year later, after observation.

Initially, de Anda found that many of the mentees joined the mentorship program in order to develop a communicative friendship with a mature and stable individual. Some mentees believed that better communication with a "mature" and "non-judgmental" adult would lead to self-improvement, allowing them to become better people. In the post-test interview, de Anda found that many mentees had positive things to say about their mentors and the program. Three mentees credited the program with changing their behaviour. One mentee acknowledged that the program taught him "how to stay out of trouble and respect others and stop the violence." Another stated, "I feel I got a different meaning of life – meaning not fighting or stuff that would hurt anyone." While the comments varied, de Anda found that all mentees had a positive experience. Many mentees felt that they developed long-term friendships with emotionally supportive individuals. De Anda states that the mentees gained positive values, goals and perspectives through their mentorship experience.

The mentors in the program also benefited from participation in the program. Two mentors were interviewed for the purpose of the study. The two joined the program because it offered them an opportunity to help their community by learning about the lives and experiences of the troubled youth in their neighbourhood. By gaining a better knowledge of the youth's perspective, the mentor would be able to offer the guidance needed. One mentor wanted his mentee to have increased opportunity to grow and become a more productive citizen and student. As a result, he stressed confidence and assertiveness, and aimed to introduce his mentee to other people outside of his disadvantaged environment. The other female mentor wanted her female mentee to finish school, build self-esteem and improve on her way of dressing. By the end of program, eight of the mentees graduated from high school, four of whom were accepted in state college and two in part-time college. The remaining 10 continued in high school and vowed to decrease their violent behaviours. Over all, mentorship changed the lives of violent youth. By building strong bonds with mentors, mentees were able to make positive development changes emotionally and socially. Mentors provided opportunities that encouraged educational and career goals, resulting in a significant change in the life of each youth. De Anda concludes that the caring and supportive relationship changed the violent attitudes and behaviour into pro-social behaviours. De Anda (2001) attributes this change to the relationship between the mentor and mentee, since it led to healthy developmental progress. Having "volunteer" mentors showed the mentees that others cared about their welfare. To ensure success, de Anda (2001) suggests the following:

- Volunteers must be carefully screened and selected
- Orientation/education sessions need to be provided for volunteers
- Program administrators must become acquainted with both the youth and the adult volunteers so that appropriate mentor–mentee matches can be made
- Program administrators need to be available in case of conflict and as a resource for both mentors and mentees
- Structured activities must be provided for participants in the program

Summary of the de Anda Study

The study allows one to see how important a solid, open, communicational relationship is to at-risk youth. They require non-judgmental individuals who are available to listen and offer experiences the youths may lack in their own environments. A stable and caring relationship was an essential component, as it led to progressive development from negative and violent behaviours to more pro-social attitudes (de Anda, 2001).

Unfortunately, it is studies like the one conducted by de Anda that increase the belief that mentorship is the answer to youth violence. De Anda may have offered significant results, but still did not answer the question of why or even how mentoring changed the attitudes and behaviours of the delinquent youths. This study still makes it difficult to isolate the point at which the violent adolescent changed. The process of change has yet to be discovered. This type of study relies heavily on testimonials and does not facilitate a proper analysis of mentorship's effectiveness. A major question that arises is how did the mentoring relationship progress and lead to change. From the perspective of industrial/organizational psychology, Kram (1988) suggests that mentorship relationships grow through various stages of development. There is an initiation phase, a phase of mutual admiration, where both the mentor and mentee work to make an impression on the other, and then, several phases where the nature of the relationship changes as the roles and responsibilities of the mentor and mentee become more clear. This may shed light on adult mentorship relationships, but solid empirical study in regard to the phases of adult mentorship is severely lacking. More information is required to pinpoint the stages of mentorship and the process of change.

The study fails to discuss any problems that may have risen between mentor and mentee, which is very probable with violent and delinquent youth. The actions of adults will be perceived and responded to in various ways; it simply depends on the adolescent's ability to be open to new relationships (Rhodes, 2002). Every adolescent is different, thus making it difficult to believe de Anda when she states that the program resulted in "all" youth participants changing their violent behaviours. De Anda's study sensationalizes mentorship without providing any empirical evidence. The following study improves on de Anda's evaluation strategy.

Study 2: The building resiliency and vocational excellence (BRAVE) program: A violence-prevention and role model program for young, African American males by J.P. Griffin (2005)

Griffin (2005) examines the BRAVE (Building Resiliency and Vocational Excellence) pilot program, which acts as a substance abuse, violence prevention and role model program for young (16 to 20 years old) African-American men. Through a one-on-one relationship with an adult mentor, the program aims to establish positive roles in the male African-American community by offering coaching and career planning to instill a sense of purpose and success for the future. The program hopes to build resilience in these young men and combat negative social experiences. Proven resilient characteristics in individuals include positive social skills, solid analytical skills, and an overall ability to manage difficult life experiences. The idea is that if certain characteristics help youth to overcome adversities, disadvantaged young African-American males from underprivileged environments can adopt the same traits. The program looks to build on social skills, analytical skills and ways to cope with peer pressure. The foundation of the BRAVE program was that Black adolescent males will become less likely to engage in violent behaviour if they:

- Attach themselves to positive, successful community role models
- Develop adaptive skills for their community settings
- Internalize social norms that equate manhood with personal responsibility
- Develop an aspiration to have a rewarding career (Griffin, 2005).

Mentors would be used to help teach, nurture and guide the mentees. In addition, the program included a school-based career development program that emphasized goal setting and life skills training. Mentors were 21 years of age or older African-American males, recruited through public announcements at an African-American university or by word of mouth. Before the start of the program, mentors were required to undergo background checks to ensure no past criminal activity and to attend a two-week training session to become acquainted with the programs goals. Influential adults were sought, and included an architect, a lawyer, a computer operator, and an information system director. The purpose of this recruitment style was to show young Black males that they could achieve similar success. Mentors were given clear instructions on how to communicate with youth and received continuous support from the program staff.

Initially, the program was conducted during two weekday evenings at an alternative school. It included 60 adolescent participants who were all noted for engaging in violent behaviour. Drug use was also prevalent among the participants. Almost all had experienced academic failure or were academic underachievers. Mentors and mentees attended group training sessions where they discussed substance abuse and violence prevention, life skills (social skills, communication, how to handle anxiety, how to be assertive), self-image, self-improvement, and decision-making skills. The classroom component included role-playing, discussion, and homework assignments. BRAVE program staff found that many of the participants continued to be involved in violence during the duration of the program. Several students reported being shot during the program and others discussed the probability of it happening in the near future. Female program administers, who would frequent classroom sessions, were regularly referred to as "bitches" and "hos." As a result, the program implemented a "manhood development" curriculum that stressed the value of respect for women. Problems arose in the study, as Griffin felt that the sample size (60 students) was too small, making it difficult to statistically evaluate the effectiveness of the program. In regard to the study itself, it was difficult to find another alternative school that was willing to participate in the program to act as a control group. As a result of the difficulties of the pilot program, coordinators sought younger participants in a middle school in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. This increased the number participants. Despite the age change, the study found that the younger participants still encountered the same stresses as the previous age group. The younger mentees also suffered from academic failure, disengagement with school, and living in single-parent, low-income homes, and they were at risk of substance abuse and violent behaviour.

The revised program included structured social events in order to enhance the relationship between the mentor and mentee. Activities included participation in community events, attending the movies and attending sporting events. School sessions were now two to three days a week and included long-term and short-term goal discussions, which were meant to encourage the skills present in resilient youth. The sessions were also used to develop a sense of purpose and future through career planning. The program stressed responsibility, respect, maturity, and independence, and simply focused on redefining the idea of the Black male. Topics included male responsibility, the treatment of women, maturity and dignity. Skills developed in the classroom were practiced in the working world, as mentors were encouraged to expose their mentees to their place of employment.

Using student self-reports, the program assessed the frequency of engagement in violence and risky behaviour after the program. Results indicate that students reported less involvement in violent behaviour.

Summary of the Griffin Study

A clear objective was stressed, as was the process, in implementing the curricula for the mentoring program. As a result, it was possible to examine the various procedural steps to achieving a beneficial program. The program did not solely rely on mentorship. While it was a big part of the program, it was simply in association with other training perspectives. This identifies a need to include training programs that emphasize the development of career goals and self-improvement. We see from the pilot program that problems can arise with delinquent youth. Some were unruly toward program administrators and others continued to be involved in violence. In response, modifications were made to improve the curricula and address the needs of the youth participants. Acknowledging the difficulties encountered in the pilot program helped to create a new model for intervention. This supports the idea that mentorship programs must be open to change as the needs and concerns of the mentees may call for program modifications.

Once again, the weakness in this study is the lack of statistical evidence to prove the program's effectiveness. The limited findings produced by the study were based solely on self-report surveys. The program sought to change characteristics of violent Black males, but the study did not use any measurements to show a process of change. Ultimately, if we cannot measure resilient characteristics, it is hard to identify resiliency as the product of change. The research falls short because there may be other factors in an individual that lead to resilient behaviour. The ability to adopt resilient behaviour may be the result of multiple factors. Werner and Smith (1989) question resiliency because they found that youth who flourish in the face of adversity tend to have hobbies, other interests and "a unique capacity" to engage with others. This could be the result of an array of factors. It could be the result of intelligence, character, physical appearance, demeanor, etc. However, the success with the program's younger participants may help bolster resiliency theory. Once violence is instilled in one's life, it may be difficult to change. Children are at an impressionable stage, and if positive life skills are instilled at a younger age, violent tendencies may be reversed (Satchwell, 2006).

We saw that in the pilot project, older youth continued to engage in violence and many refused a mentor. The younger participants were very receptive to the program, resulting in behavioural changes for the majority. This may be very important to acknowledge because it may exemplify the fact that younger participants are easier to build positive relationships with. Many of the older participants in the pilot program had already adapted to their environment and behaviours. Many continued to engage in violence during the duration of the program. Changing one's perception of the self is not impossible, but often difficult. Intervention may be best when an adolescent is younger because they go through rapid changes in development and are more susceptible to influences, whether they are negative or positive (Rhodes, 2002). Having a positive, accomplished and successful individual as a mentor can have a major impact on a developing youth. George Herbert Mead (1934) surmised that adolescents developed an image of themselves through the perspectives of a significant individual in their lives. More positive influences can lead to a youth's developing the desire to create and sustain that constructive image. Mentoring may be best as a strategy to prevent the development of future violent behaviours among youth.

***Study 3: A school-based violence prevention model for at-risk eighth-grade youth* by S. A. Rollin et al. (2003)**

Rollin et al.'s (2003) study centred on the effectiveness of violence prevention programs for at-risk grade eight students. The effectiveness was evaluated through the comparison of students, at three separate public schools, who were considered at-risk youth. At-risk status was based on one or more risk factors, which included the following: involvement in the juvenile justice system, one or more instances of fighting or unruly conduct in school, high absenteeism, or over-age in grade (Rollin et al., 2003). Students who participated in the program were randomly selected by school officials. The intervention group received community-based mentors who served as one-on-one career and emotional advisers. The intervention group was compared with a control group of students who did not receive a mentor. The study measured 1) unexcused absences; 2) number of in-school suspensions; 3) number of days of in-school suspensions; 4) number of out-of-school suspensions; 5) number of days of out-of-school suspensions; and 6) total number of infractions committed on school property. These were used to measure violence based on past research that identifies disobedience and defiance as early signs of childhood aggression. Numerous studies show that total number and days of out-of-school suspension is the result of fighting and physical violence (Costenbader and Markson, 1994; Dupper and Bosch, 1996; Imich, 1994; Skiba, Person and Williams, 1997). Similar findings were related to total number and days of in-school suspension (McFadden, Marsh, Price and Hwang, 1992). Unexcused absences were also used as a measurement, as researchers found that lack of supervision increases the opportunity to engage in delinquent behaviour (Skiba and Peterson, 1999). Infractions on school property were included as a measurement, as numerous researchers have identified anti-social and delinquent behaviours as strong indictors of violent conduct. School infractions included the following: arson, battery, breaking and entering, disorderly conduct, fighting, larceny and theft, sexual offences, battery/harassment, threat/intimidation, vandalism, and weapons offences. Other identified risks for school violence included academic failure, school expulsion, withdrawal, absenteeism, tardiness, poor peer relations and participation in delinquent activity (Borum, 2000; Denenberg, Denenberg and Braverman, 1998; Herrenkohl et al., 2000).

The intervention groups were placed in voluntary year-long internships that included a mentor. Students were place on work sites for the academic year, and the mentors were individuals from the work site who each agreed to supervise and guide an adolescent throughout the year. Students in the program received school credit as well as a small stipend every two weeks. Earnings were based on their performance and behaviour at their internship site. Students selected for the program had to go through a three-week orientation program. After passing the orientation, students were matched with an internship site and mentor based on career interests. Mentors and mentees met approx four days each week for two hours at each session. The program also hired a part-time teacher for each school to coordinate a curriculum that included skills training, behavioural lessons, and opportunities to explore career values, interests, and skills. A comparison was made between the intervention group (78 males/females) and control group (78 males/females) at the beginning of the school year and again at the end. The post-test showed a difference in the intervention group compared with the control group in all measurements. The most noted changes included the following:

School 1 – substantial decrease in total number of in-school suspensions, out-of-school suspensions, and number of school infractions for the intervention group.

School 2 – substantial decrease in total number of out-of-school suspensions and number of infractions for the intervention group.

School 3 – substantial decrease in total number and total number of days of out-of-school suspensions and number of infractions on school property for the intervention group.

Summary of the Rollin et al. Study

This intensive study was conducted using a controlled pre-test/post-test design, allowing for a proper comparison. What differed in this study is that it included three separate sets to compare and analyze, thus increasing its statistical power. In addition, the measurements in the study were justified and effective in addressing violent conduct. The study was well executed; however, it failed to address numerous issues. Most of the participants were African-American, limiting the scope of the analysis. Results may differ in the general population. The previous study reviewed in this literature review identified a possible need to modify programs based on "race," gender, etc. The sample size was also very small, making it difficult to relate to the general population. The previous studies in this section relied heavily on self-reported surveys. This particular study did not include a self-report survey, which may have been beneficial in association with the other measurements. It would have been valuable to gain a better understanding of the personal perspectives of the youth participants as well as the teachers and mentors.

What lacks in all these studies, as well as most studies within the mentorship paradigm, are long-term effects. Very few studies look into the lives of the participants after the evaluation period. Research allows one to see preliminary benefits, but the failure to review after evaluation makes it difficult to see if behavioural changes continue into early adulthood. Researchers are exploring the benefits of mentorship, but may be missing the negative influences of mentorship. Researchers may want to consider the effects on other family members as an adolescent grows through a program. A sibling may experience feelings of hurt and jealousy as one family member is exposed to increased opportunities (Rhodes, 2002). Parents may feel inadequate in their parental abilities, as their child is being guided and supported by a non-familial individual. The mentee might experience problems from other peers and face ridicule and alienation from others in his or her community (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986). An array of issues may rise in the course of mentoring. It is vital for researchers to examine all aspects during and after evaluation in order to identify unforeseen positive and negative changes. The following section evaluates an intensive meta-analysis study conducted by DuBois et al., which gives a broader perspective on mentorship.

Dubois et al. - A Meta-Analytic Review

Dubois et al. (2002) conducted a significant meta-analysis that proved to be essential to the scope of mentorship. This intensive study reviewed 55 different empirical studies and provided an unbiased view into the effects of mentoring programs for youth. Over all, the study found that mentoring offered marginal benefits to youth. However, DuBois's study did not discredit mentorship's influence; what it did was help identify certain conditions and practices that increased mentorship's success. All mentorship programs were different in scope, making it difficult to conclude that mentorship was the "answer" to combatting youth delinquent behaviours. The study examined the differences among the established mentorship programs and sought to extract the practices that produced better results.

The structure of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program has continuously been hailed as the ideal because of its model of "best practices" for youth mentoring (Tierney, Grossman and Resch, 1995). As a result, Dubois aimed to compare mentorship programs to the practices of the BBBS. He found that mentorship programs differed in their basic goals and philosophy, whether they were generalized to promote positive youth development or more focused on specific goals such as employment and educational enhancement, all mentorship programs gained a positive response (Saito and Blyth, 1992). Dubois examined the procedures for recruiting and supervision, and found that mentorship programs differed in the level of training and supervision. Additional suggestions have examined the matching of mentors and mentees based on gender, race/ethnicity or mutual interests. The study looked into frequency of contact, monitoring the relationship, and the support and involvement of parents and guardians (Freedman, 1992; Hamilton and Hamilton, 1992, Saito and Blyth, 1992). In regard to the characteristics of mentored youth, DuBois found that most programs targeted the participation of at-risk youth based on individual and environmental circumstances. Other targets have included youth from single-parent homes and youth of specific racial or ethnic groups. Finally, Dubois examined the outcome of adult mentorship. Many programs have identified a wide variety of positive outcomes that include emotional and behavioural modifications, increased academic achievement, employment, and career development. The analysis examined whether the benefits of mentoring were evident across the various anticipated outcomes.

Dubois et al. (2002) located articles, through the Internet, dating back to 1970, which was the year that research on the outcomes of mentorship began to appear. His search of articles ended with 1998. A final examination of 55 articles was conducted. Each article was coded into six major categories that included a) report information (year of publication); b) evaluation methodology (type of research design, sample size, etc.); c) program features; d) characteristics of participating youth; e) mentor–mentee relationships; and f) assessment of outcomes.

Results show that there are only modest benefits for an average youth participating in a mentorship program. Dubois et al. (2002) found that the variations of mentorship programs produce varying effects. Evidence shows that only certain mentorship programs have a high level of success. They include programs that employ both theory-based and empirically based "best practices," and that are also characterized by the establishment of a strong relationship between mentor and mentee. Programs that are poorly implemented can in fact be detrimental to youth. Youth from backgrounds of environmental risk and disadvantage appear to benefit most from mentorship programs. The following section goes more into detail.

Program Features

- Programs that were in a school setting produced lower effects than did programs based in the community or workplace.
- Programs that emphasize clear goals and follow strict screening procedures produce greater effects.
- Larger effects are reported with an increase in monitoring implementation. So, increased monitoring of the mentor-mentee relationship increases its success.
- In regard to the characteristics of the mentor, neither race nor ethnicity significantly affected results. However, a mentor with a background in a helping role or profession (e.g., teacher) increased the effective results.
- Programs that included ongoing training produced larger effects.
- Structured activities for the mentor and mentee increase positive results, as did the inclusion of parental support and involvement.
- Supervision and support groups for mentors did not seem to increase positive results.

- A programs that required a high level of contact was a significant indicator of positive effects. Positive effects were highest among programs that explicitly stated the expectation of high frequency.

Characteristics of Youth

- Youth of low socio-economic status reported greater positive effects. At-risk status was found to be the most significant in effects.
- Effect size was largest among youth identified as persons with both individual and environmental risk factors, or environmental risk alone.

Outcomes

- Mentorship programs seemed to produce positive outcomes in regard to emotional/psychological condition, problem/high-risk behaviour, social competence, academic/educational matters, and career/employment. There was only a marginal change in regard to emotional/psychological change.

Summary of Results

Mentorship's degree of impact falls short of what was expected in regard to psychological, educational and behavioural adjustments. However, DuBois et al. (2002) did find that mentoring has its benefits, but more so under an array of conditions. Mentoring can help an adolescent in regard to emotional, behavioural, educational, and career development if there continues to be ongoing training, structured activities for mentors and mentees, and clear expectations for frequent contact. Strong support by program administrators for the mentor, as well as the mentee, is crucial. Parental involvement can also increase the benefits of mentoring. Training needs to continue, even when relationships have been established. In regard to the mentor-mentee relationship itself, the structure of the relationship must involve frequent contact, emotional closeness and longevity. Mentees who have very strong relationships with their mentors, prove to benefit the most. Every aspect of the relationship can make an important contribution, thus leading to positive outcomes. Many times, the focus has been on screening, training and matching. While these continue to be vital, it is also very important to continue to train and provide support, even when relationships have been established. This has been lacking in many mentorship programs. Over all, adult mentorship programs can be an important component in a youth's development when more consistent and natural positive mentoring is lacking in an adolescent's life. At-risk children appear to benefit the most from these types of relationships. Youth who only face individual dysfunctions do not appear to benefit from mentorship, because such adolescents required more structured and professional help. However, youth who face difficult life circumstances benefit most from positive influences. As a result, mentorship programs may be used as a preventative measure to combat youth delinquencies.

What Works in Mentoring

Based on the results of the various studies reviewed in this review, and more specifically Dubois's meta-analysis, it is evident that mentorship's success relies on a well-planned and structured program. The following are identified to be the most effective practices for mentorship programs in reducing delinquent behaviour:

- **Properly screen mentors**
  - Ensure safety, and that the mentor can commit to the requirements needed to produce a successful relationship.
  - A successful relationship relies on a strong bond between mentor and mentee. That requires an immense emotional and time commitment. Mentors should provide social and emotional support, and be dependable and consistent as role models.
  - Matching must take into account the preferences of the youth, his or her family, and the volunteer.
- **Proper training for the mentor**
  - Training should include communication, tips on relationship-building, and guidance on ways to interact with a young person.
  - It is important to stress to mentors that they must be persistent in initiating and scheduling consistent meetings.
- **Ensuring a proper match**
  - The mentor and mentee should have common interests, promote openness and communication, build trust, and have a willingness to be involved in each other's families. The mentor must be take responsibility for helping the development of the relationship. The relationship should not be forced, but gradual (Sipe, 2002).

  - Mentees who had the most involvement with their mentors experienced the most positive outcomes.
  - A high level of contact between the mentor and mentee is important for the relationship to develop and succeed. Relationships need to be built using the approach that defines the mentor as a friend, not a teacher or a preacher. The mentor is meant to support and not blatantly try to change the mentee's behaviour or character.

- **Long-term relationships**
  - Mentors serve as role models and supporters. This is established by emotional bonds. If there is a deeper connection, a mentee will benefit more. Therefore continuity and promotion of long-term and consistent weekly meetings must be encouraged.

- **Ongoing supervision and training by program officials**
  - Intensive supervision is a beneficial component of a program, as mentors reported that they felt more supported and were clear about their responsibilities.
  - Close supervision and support for each match by a case manager who makes frequent contact with parents, the volunteer and the youth is important in order to provide assistance if problems were to ever arise.

- **Combination with other programs**
  - Mentoring benefits increased when combined with a curriculum that involved positive coping skills and strategies for dealing with negative influences (drugs, alcohol, negative peers).

- **Inclusion and support of parent(s)**
  - Mentoring benefits increased when parent(s) were included in the process.

What Is Less Effective

The following have been identified as producing limited or marginal success in mentorship programs:

- **Programs with limited structure or clear goals**
  - Programs that do not have a proper structure or a clear set of goals fail to produce the positive results, as disorganization affects the stability needed in a mentee's life. A high degree of structure that includes screening, training of mentors, structured activities, ongoing support for both mentors and mentees, supervision of relationships, and frequent contact is vital to the success of a program.
- **Short-term relationships**
  - Half of all volunteer mentorship relationships suddenly end within a few months (Freedman, 1993). There may be various reasons for the demise of a relationship; however, short-term relationships do not produce strong supportive relationships, and as a result, the benefits and rewards of a mentor are lost.
  - Grossman and Rhodes (2002) found that adolescents who were in mentor relationships that lasted less than three months suffered feelings of lower self-worth and less feeling of achieving academic success. Adolescents in relationships longer than 12 months reported increased feelings of self-worth, social perception, and belief in achieving academic success, and had a better relationships with parents and peers.
  - Shorter relationships have been linked to increased problems with the relationship, and positive effects increase with the duration of the relationship. Past research has shown that mentorship relationships may require a two-to-three-year partnership before benefits become evident. (Frecknall and Luks, 1992; Furrano, Roaf, Styles and Branch, 1993).
- **Youth with serious behavioural or individual problems**
  - There is a lack of evidence to support the idea that mentoring effects are positive where youth have been identified as being at-risk solely on the basis of individual-level characteristics (e.g., serious behavioural problems). Mentoring is interpersonal, so it is vulnerable to difficulties

that may arise when youth targeted for intervention are already demonstrating significant personal problems (DuBois et al., 2002). They may need extensive amounts of specialized assistance. This type of assistance often cannot be found in volunteers and non-professionals.

It is evident that a highly structured program is vital for a mentorship program's success. The relationship between the mentor and mentee is of utmost importance, and a program should do all in its power to facilitate the bond. As a result, programs must properly screen and train mentors. Mentors must be made aware of the intense commitment and be willing to do what is needed to develop a strong bond and provide consistent support. Programs need to continuously monitor relationships in order to ensure stability and provide support for the mentor and mentee. Programs should also be responsible for providing structured activities and skill-building in order to promote development. It is important to note that benefits are gradual and require patience and extensive time commitments. As a result, long-term relationships should be encouraged.

Failure to produce a properly structured program will lead to detrimental effects for youth. Programs are less effective if they do not help to assist the development of a strong mentor-mentee relationship. If the necessary steps are not taken to ensure a solid match, youth can suffer additional emotional and social disadvantages.

Conclusion

Based on research into the mentoring paradigm, it is easy to see why mentorship is viewed as a viable "answer" to adolescent violence. However, the conclusion should be viewed with caution. At-risk adolescents can benefit from the presence of adult mentors; however, mentoring is not the answer per se, for it should not be used as a substitute for proper parenting and community support. Based on the examination of studies in this review, it is evident that mentoring does produce positive effects, but they are contingent on an array of factors that require extensive time, planning and commitment. If the necessary efforts are not made to create a solid program, mentoring can prove to be detrimental to at-risk children. Over all, mentoring seems to be a valid tool in preventing violence among at-risk youth; however, more research must go into its long-term effects in order to solidify its significance. Finally, a great deal of what we know about mentoring is based on findings from the United States. While some of these findings may be generalized to the Canadian context, it is clear that more evaluation research on mentoring programs is required in this country.

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Sports-Based Strategies[19]

Introduction

Youth participation in sporting activities is a time-honoured tradition in North America, Europe and much of the developing world. There is a "common-sense" belief among the general public that sporting activities can contribute to both physical and psychological development and will thus ultimately have a positive impact on the lives of young people. Recently, some have begun to pitch sports-based programming as a possible solution to various behavioural problems among youth – including aggression and violence. In our opinion, this claim is worth further investigation. Indeed, recent public opinion polls indicate that many Ontario residents perceive that there has been a recent increase in youth violence, and that this increase might be linked to cutbacks in the government funding of sports and recreation programs. People are inclined to believe that sports and physical activity will have a positive effect on the young people who participate in them. However, the literature reviewed below indicates that some sports programs may be more effective than others – especially when it come to reducing youth violence. In examining the impact of sport, for example, we must differentiate between different types of sports and the level of competition. We must also be mindful of the socio-economic circumstances of participants and the specific problems experienced by youth in different families, communities, and neighbourhoods.

In order to create effective policy with regard to sports programming, Canadian policy-makers must first acknowledge the complexity of youth violence as an issue related to both individual psychology and the social, political, and economic contexts in which young people live their lives. In short, we must realize that simply funneling money into a basketball program at an inner-city high school will not provide a "silver bullet" solution to youth violence. Some research even suggests that simply building more basketball courts can be exactly the wrong response, as it can feed unrealistic expectations of youth that the way out of poverty is through professional sports, and may even be an additional distraction from school, employment, etc. However, this does not mean that we should not make every effort to understand exactly how, why, and when sports programs can contribute to an effective multi-agency approach to youth violence and community safety.

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[19] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Amanda Boyce, BA, undergraduate program in Criminology, University of Toronto.*

The research evidence strongly suggests that sports can – and do – provide positive experiences for youth. Sports and recreation (along with arts and crafts) have the potential to supply elements that are otherwise missing in the lives of disadvantaged youth, and can therefore have a positive effect, if not on crime prevention directly, then certainly on other factors that contribute to youth violence — factors such as enhancing self-esteem, learning the value of teamwork and developing greater self-discipline.

Although research suggests that many of these positive experiences do not come from participation in the sport itself, sports does provide the context for unique and valuable social interactions that can assist in both youth development and personal growth (Ewing and Seefeldt, 1997). Indeed, the benefits of sport are almost totally contingent upon the relationships they engender and whether participation can help at-risk populations deal with the social pressures they face in their everyday lives (Sport England, 2002; Sandford et al., 2006). Thus, effective sports-based policy depends on the recognition of the conditions necessary to effect positive change in youth – including the factors that can help young people resist the urge to engage in violent behaviour.

Historical Background

The roots of what one could call "organized recreation" in Canada can be traced back to England during the mid-19th century. This period, which scholars identify as the beginning of the "rational recreation movement," was marked by the promotion and diffusion of modern sports programs into the public school system. Many scholars have characterized this movement as a form of "muscular Christianity" or a "cult of athleticism" (Sanford et al., 2006). It is no coincidence that the English population during this era was experiencing a mass movement to urban areas as a result of the Industrial Revolution. In urban areas, therefore, sports came to be viewed as a substitute for the physical activity that had been lost as society moved from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Thus, although physical activity was considered important far before the time of the Industrial Revolution, the institutionalization of sport as a mandatory and regimented activity has been directly linked to an emerging fear of the urban poor and a widespread perception that crime and delinquency among young people were increasing (Holt, 1990). The initial optimism regarding sports programs was largely based on the adage that idle hands do the Devil's work – as well as traditional notions that physical activity can both reduce natural aggression and improve one's moral character. These general ideas can, in fact, be traced back to ancient Greece and the writings of Plato and Aristotle. These two ancient scholars believed that sports provided a means of encouraging self-control, discipline, honesty and determination. They also thought that sports provided both an outlet for pent-up aggression and a context for training and adult supervision (Begg et al., 1996).

Since government policy regarding crime is often influenced by public opinion, or in this case public fear, the British Parliament eventually passed a series of laws that sought to promote social control through sports and recreation programs and facilities. The first of these legislative reforms, the Baths and Wash-Houses Act, was passed in 1846 (Torkildsen, 2000). The British emphasis during this time was framed on a "puritanical" or "stoical" view of sporting culture that held that sports would improve youth discipline, instill a strong work ethic, and improve cooperation through an emphasis on teamwork. It is important to note, however, that this puritanical view largely ignored alternative views of the sporting life. For example, "Dionysian" or "Epicurean" perspectives hold that competitive sports can increase aggression towards rivals and promote hyper-masculine subcultures that emphasize physical power, aggression, fighting ability, excessive alcohol use, and the degradation of women (Dunning and Waddington, 2003). Thus, although the British ideological emphasis on the puritanical aspects of sport has come to dominate modern sports discourse, it is imperative that we do not blindly accept the positive "sports as violence prevention" hypothesis. As the research discussed below suggests, under some circumstances, sports can actually promote or facilitate violent behaviour.

Currently, various theorists and policy-makers hold that sport is an effective means of dealing with the problem of youth crime and violence. This corresponds with public opinion. In a recent survey, for example, almost half (49 per cent) of Canadian citizens felt that community sports programs have the ability to reduce youth crime. Furthermore, next to the family, Canadians believe that sport has the greatest potential to effect the development of positive values in young people (CCES, 2002). However, by itself, public optimism about sports does not justify public spending, nor does it inform the development of practical and effective policy initiatives. It is imperative that we also examine the various theoretical rationales behind these popular and ambitious claims and investigate the actual effectiveness of sports programs with respect to reducing youth violence.

Rationales

Perhaps the most simplistic explanation for why sports should reduce youth violence is **diversion**-based. Proponents of this perspective argue that sport programs can remove youth from dangerous situations within high-crime neighbourhoods and positively occupy their time. From a routine activities perspective, participation in sports programs reduces boredom and the amount of time youth spend in idle, unsupervised social contexts. In other words, compared with their uninvolved peers, sports participants simply have less unsupervised leisure time in which to engage in risky activities – including violence (Siegenthaler and Gonzalez, 1997; Bailey, 2005). Various programs with diversionary intentions have been evaluated in Scotland, the United States and Australia. (see Coalter, 2005; Hartmann and Depro, 2006; Morris, Sallybanks, Willis and Makkai, 2003). As we shall see, these large-scale meta-analyses could draw no definitive conclusions with respect to the effectiveness of sports programs in diverting youth away from delinquent behaviour.

In other cases, the argument for sports programs is actually **deterrence**-based. The idea is that if high-profile sports programs operate in high-risk communities, where vandalism, property crime, drug dealing and gang activity persist, the physical presence of participants (including adult supervisors and athletes) will discourage youth from offending in that area (Nichols and Crow, 2004). This may be seen as problematic because the deterrent effect of sports is limited to places and times in which the programs are in operation. Also, logic would suggest that a displacement effect could take place, wherein criminal offending would simply start to take place at different times of the day and in different locations. It is also clear that the deterrence model does not address the root cause of youth violence (i.e., the reasons youth are motivated to commit crime or violence in the first place).

Other justifications for the sports paradigm address the impact that sports might have on the psychological development of young people. Some theorists, for example, claim that since delinquent youth often seek excitement and stimulation, sports can offer an alternative to anti-social behaviour. In essence, they tout sports as an outlet for youthful aggression and maintain that sports participation can be a legitimate source of both excitement and immediate gratification (Coalter, 1989).

The bulk of the sports literature, however, makes reference to some version of pro-social development theory. In general, pro-social development theory holds that sports can provide a system of legitimate relationships – peers, fans, coaches, program leaders, etc. – that can increase participants' self-esteem, pro-social values, conventional goals, discipline, empathy, and ability to work with others. Proponents maintain that it is these psychological factors that ultimately reduce violence among young people. In other words, sports participation can indirectly reduce violence among youth by shielding them from deviant peers and aiding in their development of a conventional belief system (Nichols and Crow, 2004).

In recent policy decisions targeting youth violence and criminality, the United Kingdom has adopted this type of pro-social development model. Indeed, as opposed to the simple economic bolstering of neighbourhoods, much of the UK's strategy has been to increase the social capital of youth and limit feelings of social exclusion (see Bailey, 2005). As such, British policy-makers have once again placed an emphasis on physical activity and sports in addressing youth disaffection. Some critics, however, have complained that the purported benefits of sport programs have been accepted too easily (Sanford et al., 2006). We address this debate further in the pages that follow.

It is also important to note the distinction between sports programs and theories that focus on *prevention* and those that focus on *rehabilitation*. Prevention generally refers to universal sports programs designed to reach the general youth population (or at least all the youth residing in a particular neighbourhood or community). An example of a prevention strategy, therefore, might be sports or recreation programs that serve all the students at a particular school. On the other hand, rehabilitation programs are usually directed or reserved for youth who have already been caught engaging in criminal or violent behaviour (Bailey, 2005).

In principle, the impact of sports should be similar in both prevention and rehabilitation contexts. However, the literature suggests that there are some important distinctions to be made regarding what works for different types of youth. For purposes of definition, therefore, we should note that Nichols and Crow (2004) have helpfully classified sports and recreation programs into one of the following three categories: primary, secondary and tertiary. *Primary* reduction programs work to change or improve general social conditions that could potentially lead youth towards crime and violence. *Secondary* programs, by contrast, attempt to identify youth who are at high risk of becoming involved in delinquent activities and specifically target their individual behaviour and development. Finally, *tertiary* programs address the rehabilitative needs of young people who have already engaged in crime or violence and have come into formal contact with the criminal justice system.

Issues in Current Evaluation Research

Extensive searches of library datasets on the topic of sports and youth violence resulted in alarmingly few Canadian studies. This suggests an extreme need for Canadian–based research to address the specific circumstances facing at-risk youth in Canadian neighbourhoods. One issue is whether the results of the American and European research literature, reviewed below, would apply to the Canadian situation. After all, Canada is a unique country with unique problems and it may thus require unique solutions to youth violence.

The vast majority of the studies that appear in the academic literature on sports and violence took place in either the United States (19 of the examined reports) or Europe (17 of the examined reports). One additional study took place in Australia. Unfortunately, we could locate only three published evaluations that took place within Canada. In our opinion, this is extremely problematic from a policy perspective. It is widely acknowledged that youth violence is largely related to various political, economic, and social circumstances and that these circumstances vary greatly from country to country and neighbourhood to neighbourhood. Thus, to hold data from other countries as equally applicable to Canadian youth may be problematic because the characteristics of the neighbourhoods, as well as the youth themselves, may be markedly different. We cannot know for sure, therefore, whether a program that works in the United States or Europe would have the same impact in Canada.

Another issue with the current evaluation research on sports programs is the numerous methodological approaches that have been employed to examine the same phenomena. Generally, evaluation studies have taken one of two forms: 1) sophisticated quantitative analyses of large datasets; or 2) small, interview and observation-based qualitative assessments. Furthermore, within each category of study, the measurement of program outcomes often varies dramatically. This often makes comparisons between studies difficult. Nonetheless, both quantitative and qualitative studies have their strengths and their weaknesses. Thus, reviewing both types of evaluation study will provide us with a fuller understanding of the potential effectiveness – or ineffectiveness – of sports programs. As many scholars have noted, relying on only one type of data will fail to capture the many complexities of the relationships between sport, youth development and violence (Sport England, 2002; Nichols and Crow, 2004).

Working with large datasets is beneficial because the results gleaned from the analysis will be statistically significant. When working with very small populations, such as a high school class with 30 children, it is impossible to generalize findings to all children. However, there are also potential problems with large quantitative studies. Primarily, they frequently offer no detailed insights into the mechanisms through which the sports programs in question either succeeded or failed at reducing youth violence or the impact that these programs had on the lived experiences of the youth participants.

Finally, it can often be quite difficult to determine what to measure in order to determine program success. Official crime statistics for youth, for example, are sometimes deceiving because they only describe cases of violence that are brought to the attention of the justice system. Thus, in addition to studies where program success is directly measured by changes in officially recorded youth violence, we also review studies that employ other outcome measures (including self-reports regarding program impacts). These include studies that have investigated the impact of sports programming using surveys and/or interviews with youth participants, parents, coaches, and other program staff. In such studies, program impact is often measured by assessing changes in self-reported aggressive or violent behaviour, improvements in problem-solving skills, improvements in school attendance, changes in self-esteem, and changes in pro-social attitudes or goals (Nichols and Crow, 2004). It the next section of this report, we systematically review various program evaluations in order to identify statistically significant results and consider the qualitative evidence regarding how sports may or may not reduce problematic behaviour among youth.

Evaluating Sports Programs

Hartmann and Depro (2006) classify the multitude of recreation programs that aim to reduce youth violence as part of the "social problems industry." The number of programs in operation is certainly large enough to constitute an industry: the Australian Institute of Criminology identified more than 600 such programs and the U.S. National Recreation and Parks Association identified 621 (Hartmann and Depro, 2006: 182). Nichols and Crow (2004) point out that resource allocation is very important, not only to program operation, but to evaluation of the programs as well. Unfortunately, programs often do not have the funding available to conduct high-quality evaluations that would accurately measure their effectiveness. As a result, programs are often developed "in the field" using "common sense" assumptions about what "should work" in specific contexts with available resources. In other words, it is often difficult to determine whether existing programs work or not – especially if we employ rigorous academic standards. However, this has not prevented program directors from establishing ambitious program goals and making elaborate – though unproven – claims about program success.

Another evaluation issue concerns the nature of open access programs including "drop-in" sports centres. Such programs are very difficult to evaluate because of the transient nature of the participants. Therefore, we have focused on more long-term, structured initiatives in order to determine which methods and mechanisms will be effective in reducing youth violence under specific circumstances. It should be noted that much of our content and conclusions are consistent with the content and conclusions of other major reviews and meta-analyses that have been conducted on this topic (see Donnelly and Coakley, 2008).

The Case for Rehabilitation through Sport

Theoretically, young, habitual offenders are seen as being inadequately socialized into community norms; thus, many feel that organized sports should act as a teaching agent regarding community living (Andrews and Andrews, 2002). Furthermore, in regard to the aggressive tendencies present in many chronic young offenders, sports are widely viewed as therapeutically valuable (see Coalter, 2005).

Andrews and Andrews (2002) examined the use of sports therapy in a secure unit for young offenders in Britain. In the United Kingdom, all "secure units" (small, closed-custody correctional facilities for chronically delinquent youth aged 10 to 16 years) are legally obligated to provide sport programming to residents. The small sample for this exploratory study consisted of only 20 youth from a single unit (35 other secure units existed in Britain at the time). All 20 of the youth who participated in the study had a long history of serious violent behaviour presumably related to high stress levels, anger management issues, low self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness. Though other studies have documented the positive effects of sports and recreational programs, this study also tried to document how and why these effects occurred. When interviewed, employees noted that activities that were considered fun by the youth got the most positive responses. By contrast, competitive sport or harsh, negative evaluation from coaches consistently provoked negative outbursts, which were lessened by sensitive coaches who put the activities into perspective and de-emphasized competition. Also, the staff emphasized teaching the youth to self-evaluate and self-praise so that they would not become dependent on other people for their self-esteem. Staff also noted the importance of giving youth responsibility and the opportunity for communication and negotiation in order to allow them to control their own environments to a limited extent; in this case, they were given the opportunity to develop their own gym program. Development of a reward system allowed the youth to feel a sense of accomplishment when they set and reached small, attainable goals (like developing their basketball skills or completing the program they had set out for themselves). Individual assessment is necessary when dealing with extremely volatile children, especially in regard to the types of activities made available to them. Common sense would dictate that traditionally "masculine" and aggressive activities would be counterproductive for violent youth; however, this study shows that this is not always the case. For example, weightlifting was a positive experience for two boys but made another become violent. It is also important to note that while the facility housed both males and females, few activities were offered to interest or appeal specifically to the girls, even though they were equally violent in this case as the boys in the unit.

Another program, examined by Nichols (2007), is Positive Futures/Sportaction. This is a tertiary partnership between Sport England, the Football Foundation, the Home Office Drug Unit and the Youth Justice Board, which was launched in 2000 in the United

Kingdom. It consisted of funding given to an existing program aimed at using sports to reduce anti-social behaviours like crime and drug use in youth aged 10 to 16 in local neighbourhoods. The evaluation in 2001 was extremely small: limited to 12 site interviews and 12 projects researched by phone. Sportaction, which began in 1993, was researched by telephone and took a case study approach. Though attendance was voluntary, it was directed at high-risk youth or those excluded from mainstream education, and most participants were referred to the program by local authorities. It involved a range of programs such as trips to priority communities, sport schemes offered at various sites on Saturdays, football coaching schemes, and leadership training. Statistical analysis of offending data would have been meaningless due to the small size of the study; also, interviews suggested that much of the offending behaviour would not have been officially recorded, and thus would have become statistically invisible. The study concluded that there was no clear evidence that the program caused participants to identify with pro-social values or that an increase in self-esteem was necessarily helpful in reducing aggression. However, we must note that for many participants, this was their last chance to reform their behaviour before they would be taken into custody, and it is likely that the program could not address the factors that had been causing their offending at so late a date. However, research also suggested that when the program did have a positive influence, it was due to its capacity to foster long-term personal development (Nichols, 2007).

Similarly, Nichols (2007) also evaluated Hafotty Wen-14 Peaks Programme, a tertiary outdoor activity program that had been in operation for fifteen years. Analysis of re-conviction data did not show lower offending rates for those who had completed the program; however, this was once again affected by small valid sample sizes. Thus, in this instance interviews of participants and staff were more useful to the evaluation. Nichols found that the greater the physical challenge presented to the participants, the greater their sense of achievement upon its completion. However, recognition and reward for these achievements were found to be crucial, in that the youth equated them with another challenge: coming off drugs. Though the risks involved in these challenges were not necessarily physical, extreme sensitivity on the part of the staff members was crucial in the productive management of the risks to self-image and identity inherent in this program. Though the adage tells us that idle hands do the Devil's work, this study showed no support for the theory that high-risk sports are a substitute for other risky behaviours such as drug use (Nichols, 2007).

The final tertiary rehabilitation program examined was West Yorkshire Sports Counselling. It consisted of a 12-week program of sports, which was valuable in that it allowed for the pursuit of individual interests and one-on-one meetings between the leaders and participants each week. The program was found to reduce crime in terms of re-conviction on an individual basis, using techniques to help participants develop a new sense of self-identity such as voluntary involvement as the basis for the program, increased fitness through physical activity, increased self-esteem through interactions with others, introducing new peers and sports leaders as positive role models, and creating strong mentoring relationships and volunteer opportunities that opened up possible future employment (Nichols, 2007).

Essentially, it was found that tertiary rehabilitation programs will have a positive impact when they are flexible enough to respond to the needs and motivations of diverse youth and when they de-emphasize rules and competition and emphasize choice and positive feedback (Sport England, 2002; Eccles and Barber, 2003). Under such conditions, developing basic physical competence can be extremely positive for self-esteem, peer acceptance and confidence (Bailey, 2005).

It is believed that programs aimed at larger youth demographics (those who have not necessarily already been identified as overly aggressive or deviant) will operate in much the same fashion. However, evidence regarding the treatment of youth who have already been identified as violent offenders cannot necessarily be applied to all youth. Thus, we now turn to an examination of programs aimed at a more general population of youth.

Diversion/Deterrence Programs

As you will recall, programs aimed at diversion attempt to keep youth occupied with acceptable, supervised activities so that they will not have the time to offend, while deterrence-based programs operate in high-risk neighbourhoods because their presence is expected to discourage youth from offending in these areas. The most well-known diversion/deterrence program from the United States is Midnight Basketball. It began during the late 1980s in Washington D.C. and was premised on the idea that one of the key problems with poor, inner-city young men (those they believed committed most of the crime) was the lack of acceptable activities offered to them between the hours of 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. Providing them with a structured activity that interested them would occupy them and also deter others from committing crime in the area at the time the program was running. Thus, it was decided that no basketball game for this program could begin before 10 p.m. and that two uniformed officers had to be present at all times to intervene in case of conflict. Such programs became extremely popular, and though some proponents of the program claimed that it produced drastic results such as a 30 per cent reduction in crime, these conclusions were not scientifically reliable and lacked basic controls and comparisons. This sort of program only ran for a few weeks out of the year and had relatively few participants and could not logically have had such results. Administrators and officials have since tried to revamp and expand the program to life skills workshops, conflict resolution, drug prevention, educational counselling, and job training (consistent with theory that sports is the "hook" for getting young people at risk to participate in such programs). The actual effectiveness focuses on individual program participants, relies on non-sports elements, and requires collaboration with diverse preventive measures.) However, an alternate theory, which is quite different from deterrence and diversion, is that the Midnight Basketball leagues attracted a lot of positive media attention to the high-risk areas. This sent a positive and proactive message to community members, which encouraged them to take pride in their neighbourhoods and emphasized trust and solidarity against youth crime and violence (Hartmann and Depro, 2006).

Another diversion/deterrence program is Northtown Parks for All, which is a primary program that operated slightly differently from Midnight Basketball. Northtown Borough Council introduced this policy in the early 90s due to growing public concern about the safety of public parks and the impact of safe recreation space. Many residents felt that the parks had become extremely unsafe due to the high levels of crime that seemed to take place in them during the evenings. Thus, as a solution, park buildings that were not in use were leased to martial arts centres at low rents to discourage youth from offending in the parks due to their presence and the people they would attract in the evening, at the peak hours of offending. In the short term, the scheme seemed to work; simple measures showed a reduction in the amount of vandalism taking place at night in the parks. Also, the perceptions of local park users were found to be changed for the better. However, this change in perception was due mostly to the good relationship the owner of the dojos had cultivated with the residents; their perceptions remained positive even when vandalism began to rise back up to its previous levels (Nichols, 2007). Thus, it seems that for both programs the positive change that resulted was in terms of people's attitudes and perceptions about certain high-risk areas, not the actual rates of offending in these areas.

Though many individuals put stock in these sorts of techniques, programs that are aimed at the pro-social development of youth are more likely to address some of the root causes of youth violence and disengagement. Relying on a "social control" model, based on diversion and deterrence alone, as opposed to a "social opportunity" model, which integrates rehabilitation and pro-social development, in an attempt to reduce youth violence has many problematic implications. Social opportunity thinking implies that youth are deserving and should be given the resources they need in order to be successful. While the social opportunity model is usually applied to middle-class youth, the social control model is reserved for inner-city, lower-class young people and implies that they are all potentially dangerous. It is conducive to an image of absent parents who cannot control their children, and children who are prone to bad behaviour and must be protected from their environment, which is unsafe, and themselves, due to their inherent deviance. It follows then that "good" members of society as a whole must also be protected from such dangers (Coakley, 2002). However, as an examination of deterrence/diversion-based strategies has shown, this is not exactly the case. Thus, studies of programs that aim to affect the lives of youth in a positive manner rather than simply diverting violence are extremely valuable.

Pro-social Development in Secondary Programs

Various studies have supported the pro-social development effects of sports recreation as being extremely beneficial to all youth, regardless of class, and as being connected to externalizing behaviours such as aggression. For example, Eccles and Barber (2003) found that sports supported psychological well-being in youth through a validation of their identity at a time during their lives at which they are developing a concept of self. Ewing et al. (2002) found that sports offer a "dynamic domain" for youth to be expressive, in which moral and character development takes place. Positive values like hard work, fair play, a drive to succeed, good behaviour and healthy social relations may be promoted. However, some authors argue that sports in and of itself do not lead to the development of moral character in youth. Coalter (2005) found that programs that use sports as a "hook" to attract young people to other opportunities such as volunteering resulted in increased levels of altruism, community orientation, leadership and sense of self among young people. Though it is quite indirect, studies have established relationships between levels of moral reasoning and levels of aggression. For example, athletes with more mature moral reasoning were found to be less aggressive by Bredemeier (1985), while children with less mature moral reasoning, when interviewed, often considered very aggressive actions to be legitimate (Ewing and Seefeldt, 1997). Thus, theoretically, sports are thought to be capable of affecting perspective-taking and empathy, moral reasoning and motivation orientation (PCPFS, 2006).

It is essential to recognize that though programs may serve to deter and divert youth from violence while in operation, the youth in question will soon find themselves back in their communities, where the same factors that caused their aggression in the first place will still be present (Armour and Wellington, 2006). Thus, it is necessary to equip them for re-entry into their communities. Youth often join gangs due to alienation from peers, lack of positive role models and low self-esteem (Ewing and Seefeldt, 1997). Some theorists argue that sports programs could be a practical substitute for gang membership because they might offer many of the same qualities. However, any indirect, pro-social effects caused by the program will depend on the type of sport played, the characteristics of the youth involved, and the attitudes of the people running and coaching the program. Hansen et al. (2003) note that compared with academic activities, extra-curricular activities provide a better context for certain kinds of development such as self-knowledge, emotional regulation and physical skills. However, sports were the only area where youth had certain negative experiences; this was so especially in regard to negative peer and adult relations. Thus, it seems that programs must operate with the specific goal of inducing positive moral development in order to be a positive experience for youth (Perkins and Noam, 2007).

Generally, aggression among youth is thought to increase in relation to participation in competitive, fight-based sports such as wrestling or boxing. However, several studies support the notion that even competitive, aggressive sports hold potential to foster pro-social development when they are taught with the correct mentorship and training. For example, studies have found that participation in martial arts increased levels of violence and aggression among youth, with the exception of Tae Kwon Do taught with a non-violent philosophical element (Coakley and Donnelly, 2004; Indresen and Olweus, 2005). Such differences among sports were not uncommon and the final results of most studies were largely mixed. For example, Eccles and Fredricks (2005) found that sports participation predicted lower levels of externalizing behaviour for boys, and nothing for girls. Thus, in order to advise policy objectives in this area, it will be much more useful to examine the mechanisms and methods through which various existing programs operate.

Fairbridge, a charity in the United Kingdom, is a secondary program that aims to develop young people's personal and social skill and build their confidence levels. In 2001, across the United Kingdom, about 3,000 youth attended Fairbridge on a voluntary basis, though agencies dealing with youth aged 14 to 25 could refer youth to the program for various reasons. The program takes at least six months and is directed at long-term behavioural change; it consists of a basic one-week course of centre preparation and up to three days at a residential location with challenging activities such as canoeing and climbing. These activities are used to help participants develop a personal action plan for the next six months. Findings for this program were favourable, in that it contributed to positive youth development in a sample of 318 young people. However, the success of the program was much lower for males and those with higher initial "risk" ratings. In terms of causality, Nichols suggests that the attitudes young people brought to the program played a large role in the program's subsequent impact on them. However, the staff and activities were key factors as they were able to play a mentor role for the extended period of six months, which was extremely valuable to the long-term outcome for youth. The fact that the positive changes among the youth seemed to fade a year after program completion suggests that six months may have still been too short a period for a program aimed at long-term reduction of violence (Nichols 2007).

Another secondary program studied by Nichols (2007) was the Clontarf Foundation's Football Academies. These football academies work with Australian Indigenous boys ages 13 to 18 by coaching them in Australian Rules Football (ARF). Though they are not targeted at offenders, they are aimed at high-risk groups and attempt to bridge gaps between Australian Indigenous and white communities. It is directed at boys, and grew from participation of 25 individuals in its pilot year to 91 the following year, with boys travelling great distances to attend. There were three academies running in 2005 and it was expanded to six in 2006. Due to the popularity of the program among the youth, most are willing to comply with the condition that they must attend school in order to participate. This is an extremely good example of a way in which sports can be used as a "hook" in order to influence young people in positive ways. By law, Australian employers have a designated quota of Indigenous employees, which they must fill. However, they often find it difficult to do so because many Indigenous youth lack the appropriate education; thus, the football program opens up employment opportunities to the youth later in life through its policy on education. They also provide reasonably priced accommodation in Perth so the boys can work in the city. Though the program was self-evaluating, Nichols compared its results to national averages to ensure accuracy. They found that the most important factor in the program's success was its ability to gain the engagement and continued participation of the boys. The Australian Football League already has a high status among Indigenous communities, and this program attempted to incorporate their culture into its operations. Also, the provision of employment opportunities and accommodation later and the motivation of the coaches were extremely important in engaging the youth. Though the program does provide many positive influences and opportunities, it does not have the specific goal of crime reduction, nor did it formally measure the youth's behaviour in terms of aggression. Thus, one might argue that the boys who volunteered to participate and attended school were not typical of those in their community and might not have had any behavioural problem prior to enrolling (Nichols, 2007).

Westtown Splash was another secondary program targeted at youth aged eight to 18 in socially and economically disadvantaged areas of Westtown. The activities were usually open-access and directed at low-risk youth who were free to drop in at any time. Nichols (2007) found the most useful method of evaluation to be interviews with participants in order to gain an understanding of the personal experiences of the youth. Surveys showed that parents believed that the program relieved boredom and kept their children out of trouble. Also, 63 per cent of participants felt that it reduced crime in the areas. It was found that the diversion effect was only present while the activities were going on and that many felt that the programs were too short, claiming most trouble began at night when they were not in operation. One of the most valuable aspects of the program was its ability to get youth to voluntarily participate and to do so repeatedly due to their enjoyment of the activities. Splash Forums, which allowed for participation throughout the year and offered opportunities for volunteering, aided with the long-term impact of the program. However, an analysis of local crime data did not show a significant reduction in youth crime, for various reasons such as the relatively small size of the program. One beneficial aspect of this particular program was in terms of funding. It was quite secure and thus could ensure that it would be operating every year to offer youth a consistent environment (Nichols, 2007).

Though we know that historically sport has been heralded as inherently valuable and necessary in the lives of youth, we must recognize that this may not always be the case in all contexts. Anecdotal evidence of increasing arrest rates among high-level, professional athletes and traditional notions of competitive, aggressive high school athletes embracing alcohol and violence leads us to present an investigation of the detrimental effects that exposing young people to sports under negative circumstances can have on their behaviour.

Ways of Improving Sports-related Outcomes

One major issue identified by many studies was the finding that though coaches play a key part in the experience of program participants, most of them lack any formal training in dealing with young people. Children's moral values were found to come at least indirectly from the behaviour of their coaches (Ewing et al., 2002; PCFS, 2006). Also, research has shown that sports leaders are extremely important role models in neighbourhoods with youth "at risk" (Nichols and Taylor, 1996; Sandford, Armour and Wellington, 2006). Various studies, while underscoring the importance of coaching, have found deficiencies in the training required. In Little League, only 20 per cent of coaches were found to have any sort of training in dealing with children, while regulations on the topic do not require them to have any such training (Diegmuller, 1995). Thus, they tend to focus exclusively on competition to the detriment of the impressionable young players. This can lead to the encouragement of an "ends justify means" philosophy for the purpose of winning. For example, 58 per cent of the Canadian hockey players surveyed aged nine and 10 approved of fighting during their games, even if it was against the rules (Hellstedt, 1988). Ewing and Seefeldt (1997) concur that outcomes of sports programs on youth behaviour are highly dependent on the coach involved. However, 90 per cent of youth sports coaches in their study had no formal education in coaching, first aid or injury prevention.

Interestingly, most studies that found sports increase youth aggression focused on participants in competitive high school sports programs. Traditionally, sports in the United States are a highly exclusionary field, which affords prestige only to accomplished athletes. Though millions of kids want to participate, they are dependent on volunteer coaches and fundraising to do so because they are not elite athletes (Ewing and Seefeldt, 1997). At highly competitive levels, violence can be legitimized by some sports in a ritualized manner. For example, there is often a drinking culture surrounding varsity athletics (Smith and Waddington, 2004; Fauth, Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2007). In an American national survey, Zill et al. (1995) found that youth who participated in extracurricular activities were 27 per cent less likely to have been arrested and 57 per cent less likely to drop out than those who didn't.

Issues of Access

It is important to recognize that youth can neither benefit from nor be harmed by sports participation if they do not have access to the activities in the first place. Females in particular are more at risk for exclusion from programming than males are (Sandford, Armour and Wellington, 2006). Though the Sport Council Survey of 1995 found that all females involved enjoyed sport, they also found that males participated in more activities and competed at a higher level than girls did (also Eccles and Fredricks, 2006). In fact, female participation in all studies examined was consistently lower than that of males. In a large U.S. survey, Pate et al. (2000) found that 69.9 per cent of males participated in sports while only 53.4 per cent of girls participated. In another work by Ewing and Seefeldt (1997), participation by girls represented only 39 per cent of the total participation in interscholastic athletics recorded. This is at least partially due to the fact that females are more likely to be attracted to individual sports like dance and swimming while males are drawn to team sports, which school systems in the U.S. and Canada seem to support disproportionately. Especially problematic is the low ratio of women to men who coach school sports. The percentage of women who coach girls' sports went from 90 per cent in 1972 to 50 per cent in 1987 (Bailey et al., 2002). Thus, females could also be lacking role models to encourage their participation. Though these studies examined competitive sports played in schools, it should be noted that very few of the programs aimed at improving youth behaviour offered any activities to specifically interest females or catered to their needs.

Some barriers to participation affect members of visible minority communities as well. Among adults, minorities participate in sports slightly less than the general population, and participation is the lowest for female members of minority groups. Qualitative research as to the reasons why suggests that a lack of acceptance of sports values, fear of discrimination and inadequate facilities are to blame. This situation must be rectified, as it has been found that sports can create disillusionment among girls and minorities if taught improperly (Bailey, 2005). Duncan, Duncan, Stryker and Chaumetan (2002) found that higher income was associated with more involvement in sport and less involvement in substance abuse and other deviant behaviours, while Zill et al. (1995) found that students from lower-income families participated less. Though other factors likely influence these relationships also, Cohen et al. (2007) found that juvenile arrest rates were lower in areas where schools offered more extracurricular sports.

Conclusion

In sum, the empirical results from the examined research and the theories put forward to explain the results have been relatively mixed and diverse. Thus, to advise public policy on the issue of sports as a tool to reduce youth violence, we will concentrate on what features of each study were found to be effective. It should be stressed that most of our conclusions are based on American or European findings. Unfortunately, until more Canadian studies are conducted, it is difficult to determine the extent to which these findings can be generalized to Canadian society.

Coakley (2002) concluded that positive transitions from childhood to adulthood are possible when youth feel physically safe, personally valued, socially connected, morally and economically supported, personally and politically empowered, and hopeful about the future. It is reasonable to assume that positive results will be possible if these conditions exist or if sports can help create them.

Further practical implications from the examined research:

> In terms of administration, Coalter (2005) found that a "bottom-up" approach has been found to work best. It is important that the programs utilize local labour and resources. This has been found to work at a community level to quell any skepticism about quick-fix schemes (Bailey, 2005). Long-term success depends on communication and cooperation between stakeholders such as the community, parents, sports clubs, schools, practitioners, researchers, and policy-makers (Doll-Tepper, 2006; Sandford, Armour and Wellington, 2006). Long-term commitments to these types of programs are essential to their success, as is the effective monitoring of their success and operations (Sport England, 2002; Sandford, Armour and Wellington, 2006). This cooperation should ensure that programs are not forced to construct impractical goals and make overreaching claims just to secure funding (Smith and Waddington, 2004). Also, building bridges between school, family and programs is important so that the positive effects will not be limited to the context of the sports program. Programs should not separate youth from the community that they live in (Sandford, Armour and Wellington, 2006).

There was overwhelming evidence that sports will be effective when they are part of a directed program aiming specifically to reduce violence, as opposed to when they are competitive and directed at winning. Sports programs aimed at youth should blend physical activity with social interaction in order to address risk factors (Seedfeldt and Ewing, 1999). If the program offers youth-mentor relationships, it is imperative that these relationships be maintained after programs end (Smith and Waddington, 2004). It is also important to offer activities that youth are passionate about to maintain their long-term interest and possibly even create career opportunities. This implies that other diverse activities such as music, computers, or art could also be conducive to this end, as long as youth take a strong interest in them (Smith and Waddington, 2004). We know that sports alone are a poor solution to social problems and must be taken in the context of a multi-agency approach to problems like youth violence. Coakley (2002) criticizes the "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" attitude that results from taking sports programs out of context. He emphasizes developing the best sports programs possible while keeping the root causes of youth disaffection, such as deindustrialization, unemployment, underemployment, poverty, and racism in mind and simultaneously working to address them.

Essentially, what works will depend on the community being addressed, the type of sport being played, and the social interactions created out of the environment. That being said, Donnely et al. (2008) provide a very useful and comprehensive list of criteria for predicting and/or evaluating the usefulness of any given program, which is supported in the majority of the research: the size and sustainability of a program, how it addresses barriers to participation, whether it responds to specific local and cultural needs, whether there is reliable published material and evidence regarding its effectiveness, and whether the program is sensitive to gender issues and accessible for disabled individuals.

From this, a comprehensive breakdown of general guidelines for program effectiveness at reducing youth violence may be created. It should be noted that these points focus on the reduction of youth crime and violence. It should be noted, however, that sports can also produce a range of additional benefits ranging from increasing self-confidence, increasing fitness, increasing the capacity to work with others and self-discipline.

Sport is effective at reducing youth crime and violence:

- When the sporting activity is part of a program that is inclusive of all youth and run with the specific goal of reducing youth violence
- When competition and aggression are de-emphasized and emphasis is placed on the acquisition of skill and social interaction
- When the sports program also opens up other opportunities for youth such as volunteering and future employment
- When coaching staff are trained in conflict resolution and in dealing sensitively with youth, as well as in how to manage sporting goals

- When the program has adequate funding to be in operation for an extended period of time
- When local leaders and members of communities are consulted and included in the sport schemes
- When parents and teachers are included in the program and connections are made from the program to school and home life
- When the programs give viable opportunities for females to participate and learn in a gender-safe environment where equality is taught and respected.

Sport is less effective at reducing youth crime and violence:

- When the sport is part of an exclusion-based system that isolates elite athletes from other youth
- When winning is emphasized as the only important factor and unhealthy competition is encouraged at all costs
- When coaches and staff are not adequately trained in dealing with young people
- When the sport is played in conditions which support sexist, racist and other harmful stereotypes
- When emphasis is not placed on long-term, pro-social development and sport is seen as a short-term diversion
- When sport is seen as an isolated field, disconnected from parents, teachers and other aspects of young peoples' lives
- When sports schemes are used as an excuse to avoid addressing the root social causes of youth violence.

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Arts and Recreational Strategies[20]

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a review of some recent literature and empirical research regarding structured recreational activities and youth violence, primarily focusing upon their effect on youth aggressive and anti-social behaviour and related factors. While this chapter does not encompass all of the literature available, it does offer a relatively comprehensive review of many pertinent studies conducted regarding this topic and many of the issues associated with it.

The second section of the chapter provides a brief description of what structured recreational activities and their underlying goals typically encompass (with special regard to those programs directed towards at-risk youth). As well, some common issues and limitations regarding research in this area are discussed. Section three focuses on the role of structure in recreational activities. Section four highlights the role that parental involvement in structured recreational activity can play. In section five, attention will be given to issues regarding cultural awareness when dealing with youth belonging to visible minority groups. Section six outlines research specifically pertaining to the role that arts-based recreational activities can play in addressing issues regarding youth violence and anti-social behaviours. In section seven, research regarding secondary benefits of provider-initiated quality childcare are highlighted and discussed. Finally, section eight offers a brief summation and conclusion regarding the topics discussed in the previous sections.

Recreational Activities and Youth Violence

A considerable amount of research exists to suggest that youth participation in structured recreational activities is associated with a number of positive outcomes, including reductions in anti-social behaviour, aggression, and criminality (Kisiel, Blaustein,

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[20] *This chapter was written with the assistance of James Dorion, MA, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.*

Spinazzola, Schmidt, Zucker and van der Kolk, 2006; Mahoney, 2000; Mahoney and Stattin, 2000). Moreover, benefits regarding involvement in structured recreational activities appear to be most marked among children with multiple problem profiles (Bornmann, Mitelman and Beer, 2007; Mahoney and Magnusson, 2001; Wilson, Lipsey and Derzon, 2003). A recently published joint summary report (data analysis and literature review) conducted by the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) and the Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN) regarding learning through recreation outlined a number of general findings, as well as four primary hypotheses (CPRN and CCSD, 2001). An important point made within the report is that the relationship between youth recreation and benefits is more complex than might be expected; thus, it is vital that methodologically sound research is conducted to better understand what types of approaches work best among certain types of youth in specific settings. Furthermore, the report highlights the fact that it cannot simply be assumed that participation in structured recreation programs will produce positive effects, as "benefits depend largely on participation in appropriate programs, and on the social environment" (CPRN and CCSD, 2001: 4). Moreover, participation itself is influenced by such primary factors as age, gender, and socio-economic status, while other factors regarding parents and peer networks also appear to play a role.

As mentioned, the report also posited four primary hypotheses regarding structured youth recreation, which may be viewed as useful in guiding future research and program designs. First, there is the human development hypothesis, which puts forth the notion that an absence of structured recreation has a negative effect regarding long-term socio-emotional development of youth, resulting in pervasive problems well into the adult years. According to the hypothesis, adolescence is a critical period in developing an identity and forming one's self-concept, a concept that has been supported by numerous empirical studies (Cauffman and Steinberg, 2000; Doob and Cesaroni, 2004; Steinberg and Schwartz, 2000).

Next, the Civic Competence hypothesis suggests that youth not involved in structured recreational activities are less likely to exhibit appropriate and acceptable levels of civic competency. Regarding this hypothesis, the report points out that children participating in structured recreational activity appear to score higher on a measure of moral development, and that childhood participation in team sports and youth groups seems to have an impact on later participation in community and volunteering activities as an adult.

The insufficiency hypothesis posits that a large percentage of youths are not participating in structured recreational activities at levels deemed sufficient to support their human development and civic competence. As such, the report highlights a number of barriers that decrease the likelihood of youth participation in structured recreational activity, pointing out that many at-risk youth face a number of these barriers simultaneously. Some of these barriers include low socio-economic status, gender (females are less likely to participate, as typical activities such as sports are male-dominated) and minority group status. Finally, related to the insufficiency hypothesis, is the inadequacy hypothesis, which suggests that non-participation of youth is, at least in part, due to a lack of existing public systems dealing with the provision of structured youth recreation activities. An important point that the report highlights is that simply supplying structured recreation to youth is not enough; rather, there need to be put into place some mechanisms to aid in facilitating access to such programs for youth who may otherwise not be able to participate. This holds especially true when one recognizes that youth who may otherwise not be able to participate are also those youth who are most likely to be considered at-risk.

A number of studies have consistently found that the most successful youth recreation programs are those that are high in structure (Mahoney and Magnusson, 2000; Mahoney, Stattin and Magnusson, 2001). As well, programs that incorporate comprehensive and holistic approaches, considering individual, family, community, and societal factors, are more likely to be successful at producing short- and long-term benefits (Ellis, Braff and Hutchinson, 2001; Huff, Widmer, McCoy and Hill, 2003). Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that programs appearing to be effective with certain types of youth in specific settings may not work with other youth in other settings. As such, it is essential for continual assessments to be conducted in order to maintain the integrity of programs and the likelihood of positive effects being produced. However, a widespread problem regarding research in the area of youth recreation programs is that programs and assessments are often lacking sound experimental design, making it difficult to determine what truly works and what does not. Specifically, many assessments often have vague operational definitions, lack of control groups, no baseline or outcome measures, and non-standardized or non-validated measurement tools (for some specific examples, see Carey-Webb, 1995; Long and Soble, 1999; Mahne, 2004; Smitherman and Thompson, 2002). Finally, it is often the case that assessments are conducted by those who have developed and implemented the program, which can be problematic in that they may be more likely to report positive effects associated with their programs that are perhaps either less pronounced or even non-existent. As such, programs need to be continually evaluated by objective researchers with no vested interest in the funding of specific programs.

The Role of Structure

A study recently conducted in Sweden sought to identify and evaluate characteristics of recreational activities that may be associated with increases or decreases in adolescent anti-social behaviour, specifically focusing on the influence of structure and social context (Mahoney and Stattin, 2000). Accordingly, adolescent anti-social behaviour was assessed for youth participating in either high or low structured recreational activities.

High-structured recreational activities included community-sponsored teams and organizations, and typically featured: regular participation schedules, rule-guided engagement, emphasis on skill development and direction provided by adult activity leaders. Low structured recreational activities consisted of youth accessing the nationally sponsored Swedish youth recreation (YR) centres. These centres are low-structured, are available in most communities throughout Sweden, and posit a primary goal of reducing youth anti-social behaviour by offering a place for youth to spend leisure time during evening hours, extending as late as 11:30 p.m. in some communities. Typical activities available in the YR centres include billiards, video games, television and listening to music, with special events such as field trips (e.g., movie night) occurring occasionally. As the authors note, none of the activities available through the YR centres are highly structured; they do not focus on individual needs or skill-building, and adults present at the centres do not direct or place demands on the youths' activity choices.

The authors report that all adolescents in grade eight, as well as their parents, from six communities in Orebro, Sweden, a relatively large town by national standards (pop. 120,000), were invited to participate in a survey regarding the adolescents' leisure activities and social relations. In total, 351 boys and 352 girls filled out a school-based survey, and the authors report that this total sample size of 703 adolescents represents approximately 92.5 per cent of all grade eight students in the six communities. Additionally, 580 parents, representing 76 per cent of the parent sample population, responded to a mailed survey asking questions regarding their child's use of free time and peer relations, as well as their own relationship with their child. The authors report that the adolescents' activity involvement or engagement in anti-social behaviours did not significantly differ according to whether their parents participated in filling out the survey.

Adolescents' activity involvement was dichotomized according to whether they indicated participating in high- or low-structured activities. High-structured activities were defined as 1) occurring together with others in their own age group; 2) having an adult leader; and 3) meeting at least once a week at a regular time. Adolescents who indicated attending a YR centre at least once a week on a regular basis were designated as involved in an unstructured community activity. The authors report that adolescent involvement in leisure activities did not significantly differ according to gender, with 76 and 78 per cent of the boys and girls respectively reporting involvement in one or more structured activity and 42 per cent of boys and 40 per cent of girls reporting typically frequenting YR centres more than once a week.

Adolescents were asked to indicate the frequency with which they engaged in a number of anti-social behaviours (e.g., drinking, theft, property crime, violence, skipping school) using a five-point scale ranging from "never" to "more than 10 times." Adolescents were also surveyed regarding peer social network characteristics, such as the ages of their close friends, academic performance, and involvement in anti-social activities. Finally, adolescents were asked questions regarding activity leader support in terms of how well they knew their activity leader(s), whether they trusted them, and how comfortable they would feel in confiding in them. Surveys completed by parents were used to evaluate levels of parental monitoring, trust in their child's choices regarding leisure activities and peer relations, parental activity support, and parental education levels.

The main findings of the study are twofold. First, results indicate that structured activity participation is associated with lower levels of anti-social behaviour and that this holds true for both boys and girls. Second, involvement in the low-structured YR centres is actually associated with higher levels of anti-social behaviour and that, while this held true regardless of gender, it appeared to be especially true for boys. Additional findings indicate that parental trust levels and support for activity involvement is significantly greater when children are involved in structured recreational activities. As well, it was found that adolescents experiencing either the presence of unstructured recreational activities or simply the absence of structured recreational activities were significantly more likely to associate with peers who displayed poor academic performance and had been apprehended by the police for engaging in delinquent behaviour.

A more recently published 20-year longitudinal study similarly assessed whether participation in the unstructured Swedish YR centres is related to long-term criminality from late childhood to mid-adulthood (Mahoney, Stattin and Magnusson, 2001). Participants in the study consisted of 498 boys and their parents involved in an ongoing longitudinal investigation focusing upon individual development and adaptation. Initial sample recruitment involved all children in grade three in 1965 in the same town discussed in the previous study, Orebro, and the authors report that the sample size in this particular study represents 96 per cent of the total sample of males at age ten. The authors further note that a previously conducted study comparing rates of criminality among various cities in Sweden found that Orebro has rates of crime similar to like-sized cities in Sweden and moderately lower rates of crime compared with the country's largest cities (Stattin, Magnusson and Reichel, 1986, as cited in Mahoney, Stattin and Magnusson, 2001). Measures incorporated into the study included social behaviour as rated by teachers and peers, peer preferences, school achievement, criminal offending, youth recreation centre involvement, parental concern for child behaviour, family SES, and caregiver status.

Initial analyses indicated that 41 per cent of the boys participated in YR centres at age 13, with 20 per cent periodically accessing them between one and four times a month and 21 per cent frequently accessing them between two and seven times per week. Results of the study found that, first, participation in the YR centres was non-random, with a multiple problem profile of both social and academic problems in school at age ten, as well as low socioeconomic status (SES) and high levels of parental concern for child behaviour at age 13 being significantly associated with more frequent YR centre participation. Regarding YR centre participation and criminal offending, the general results indicated that boys who participated periodically or frequently in the YR centres at age 13 had a greater cumulative offence frequency compared with those boys who did not participate at all. That is, those boys who either periodically or frequently accessed the youth centres were at a significantly increased risk for both juvenile crime and persistent offending. Moreover, out of all the measures included within the study, YR centre participation was found to be the single best predictor of criminal offending. Specifically, regarding juvenile offending, 44 per cent of the frequent participants were charged with juvenile offences, compared with 22 per cent of the periodic participants and 12 per cent of the non-participants. Similar patterns were found regarding persistent offending, with 22 per cent, 17 per cent, and four per cent of the frequent, periodic, and non-participant boys respectively engaging in persistent offending.

An earlier longitudinal study sought to assess the relation between child and youth participation in school-based extracurricular activities and patterns of anti-social behaviour from childhood to young adulthood, specifically focusing on the role played by individuals' social networks (Mahoney, 2000).

Participants in the study included 364 girls and 331 boys (N = 695) recruited from seven public schools between 1981 and 1983 in the southeastern United States. The youth recruited in 1981 were in the grade four and their average age was slightly over ten years, while those youth recruited in 1983 were in grade seven and had an average age of just over 13 years. Additionally, the author notes that approximately 25 per cent of the sample was made up of African-American youth, a proportion nearly identical to the counties from which the sample was derived. As well, the mean SES of the sample did not significantly differ from the national average. According to official census ratings, three of the five communities from which the sample was drawn are classified as suburban metropolitan districts, with the other two are classified as rural.

Preliminary analyses identified four groups of males and females: C1) a low-risk group characterized by high social and academic competence and lower aggression; C2) a moderately low-risk group with the same characteristics as the first one plus below average SES; C3) a moderately high-risk group characterized by somewhat low social and academic competence, below average SES, and high aggression; and C4) a high-risk group characterized by a multiple risk profile, including being older than classmates, low social and academic competence, low SES, and high aggression levels.

In addition to baseline assessments being conducted at the time of recruitment, follow-up assessments were conducted in two additional waves when the youth were approximately 20 and 24 years old. Specifically, the Interpersonal Competence Scale (ICS), consisting of a variety of relevant domains, was completed both by the youth and their teachers in order to assess social behaviour and academic competence. Three specific factors from the ICS were used within the study's analyses — aggression, popularity, and academic competence. As well, information regarding the youths' socio-economic and demographic status, physical maturation, social networks (e.g., peer relations), extracurricular activity involvement (e.g., school sports teams, social and academic clubs), school attendance, and criminal offending was collected.

The main findings of the study are twofold. First, analyses indicated that the youth in the highest risk profile group were most likely to exhibit long-term anti-social behaviours. Specifically, while rates of school dropout and arrest were concentrated in the moderately high and highest-risk groups, the majority of individuals in the highest-risk group experienced both of these negative outcomes. In contrast, most of the individuals in the low- and moderately-low-risk groups experienced neither of these outcomes. Second, it was found that while involvement in school extracurricular activities — defined as one or more years of involvement in grades six to ten — was linked to reduced rates of early school dropout and criminal arrest among the high-risk youth, it was determined that this decline was in fact dependent upon whether the individuals' social networks were also involved in such activities. Using the same definition of participation, individuals' social networks were defined as "involved" if 50 per cent or more of the members participated in extracurricular school activities. Specifically, high-risk youth were most likely to experience positive outcomes when they *and* their social networks were involved in extracurricular school activities.

Together, these studies provide supportive evidence that involvement in high-structured recreational activities can significantly reduce the likelihood of youth engaging in anti-social and delinquent behaviours. Moreover, it appears that simply offering youth places to spend leisure time, without providing structure, may in fact increase the likelihood of negative behaviours occurring. The results suggest that this may be partially due to increased time spent with deviant peers, as it seems that youth exhibiting multiple problem profiles are those most likely to access such facilities. In a significant proportion of cases, these negative effects appear to lead to persistent offending (Mahoney, Stattin and Magnusson, 2001), and to the greatest degree among youth with multiple problem profiles (Mahoney, 2000). Because adolescence is a developmental period in which peer influence is particularly acute, the most effective approaches involve a focus on increasing participation in high-structure recreational activities that focus on facilitating cognitive and behavioural changes among at-risk youth and identified peer social networks.

Parent Participation

In recent years, parenting styles and parental involvement have received a great degree of focus in terms of the effects that they could have on the likelihood of youth engaging in anti-social behaviour and future criminality. Results from a number of studies indicate that families typified by positive and open communication styles are less likely to produce youth exhibiting conduct and behavioural problems and engaging in delinquent behaviour (Clark and Shields, 1997; Davalos, 2001; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Oman, Vesely and Aspy, 2005; Zavela, Battistitch, Gosselink, and Dean, 2004).

A recently conducted study tested for a relationship between a lack of parental participation in recreational community activities and increased levels of criminal activity from adolescence to adulthood (Mahoney and Magnusson, 2001). Participants included in the study consisted of 548 male youth and their parents involved in the previously described Swedish longitudinal investigation, focused on individual development and adaptation in Orebro, Sweden. This particular study included children recruited while in grade three, with over 90 per cent of them being ten years of age when first assessed.

To measure parent participation in community activities, youth and their parents were surveyed regarding their involvement in organized community activities and organizations. When youth were ten and 13 years of age, their parents were asked to indicate whether they themselves were currently involved in sports/athletic, political, non-profit, church, work or trade union, or other forms of organized community recreational youth activities. For the purposes of the study parents were classified as being "involved" in community activities when mothers and/or fathers indicated involvement in one or more activity at *both* assessment times. Conversely, mothers and/or fathers who indicated being involved at only one or at neither time of assessment were classified as "not involved." Measures of youths' behavioural adjustment and academic achievement were also included, with behavioural adjustment being assessed through teacher ratings when the youth were 13 years old and academic achievement being assessed using a nationally standardized achievement test for mathematics and language skill levels. As well, socio-economic status was assessed through parental reports of education level when the youth were 13 years of age. Finally, criminality was measured using official records regarding any criminal offences for which the youth were arrested during their lifetime, with two arrest periods being considered: 1) juvenile arrests (12 to 17 years old), and 2) adult arrests (18 to 30 years old).

Initial analyses identified five distinct configurations of boys at 13 years of age, based on scores on the three indicators of aggression, hyperactivity and achievement. First there was a high competence configuration (C1) consisting of boys with positive scores on all three indicators (14 per cent). Next there was an average competence configuration (C2) consisting of boys exhibiting low aggression and hyperactivity as well as near-average achievement levels (17 per cent). Third, there was an aggressive achiever configuration (C3), consisting of boys with above-average levels of aggression and high achievement. Next there was a low achievement configuration (C4), consisting of boys with poor academic achievement. Finally, a multiple problem profile configuration was identified (C5), consisting of boys with severely negative scores on all three indicators. Ultimately, 45 (eight per cent) of the sample youth were identified as persistent offenders, with proportions by configuration ranging from one per cent in the high competence group to 23 per cent in the multiple problems group.

The authors report that 52 per cent of the youth had at least one parent participating in community activities on a regular basis during late childhood, and that these parents were significantly more likely to come from higher socio-economic backgrounds as measured by education level. The authors also tested for differences in parental involvement between the youth configurations. Results indicated that, regardless of configuration, fathers were found to be more involved in community activities in comparison with mothers. Parental involvement for either parent was lowest among configurations in which youth exhibited low achieving and multiple problem profiles. Finally, analyses were conducted to test for possible effects that parental involvement in community activities might have on rates of youth offending. Results indicated that youth who had fathers actively engaged in community activities were significantly less likely to engage in persistent offending, and that this was most evident for youth with low school achievement and multiple problem profiles, and that this held true after controlling for socio-economic status. As a note, mothers' involvement in organized recreational activities was not found to be statistically related to the reduced likelihood of persistent offending.

Poor quality of communication within families has been linked to a number of negative outcomes regarding adolescent behaviours (Brosnan and Carr, 2000; Oman, Vesely and Aspy, 2005; Stith, 1996). A recently conducted study examined the influence that varying levels of challenging outdoor recreational activities aimed at involving both youth and their parents might have on improving parent-adolescent communication (Huff, Widmer, McCoy and Hill, 2003). In total the study involved 32 predominantly Caucasian families from Arizona, with 23 of the families completing different levels of challenging recreational activities. As well, a control comparison group made up of nine families was included in the study's design. The average age of the youth contributing data to the study was slightly over 15 years of age and the average age of the parents was 46 years of age. Family size varied slightly between groups, with an average size of 4.7 members per family. Each family consisted of at least one parent and included at least one adolescent deemed to at risk for engaging in anti-social behaviour and criminal offending. The authors report that identified risks included opposition and defiance, substance abuse, low school achievement, negative family and peer relations, and depression.

The three types of challenging outdoors recreational activities that families participated in were categorized as the "survival trek," "handcart trek" and "family base camp" activities. The authors relate that the programs were designed to include a number of similarities, with each program involving families learning a variety of skills, including Native American craft-making, leather-crafting, wood-carving, cooking, and outdoor survival skills. As well, each program lasted three nights and four days and one staff member was assigned to each family in each program. However, the three programs differed considerably in terms of the level of challenge families experienced.

The survival trek offered the highest level of challenge with families (n = 7) spending four days hiking and camping with minimal food and supplies, encountering difficult terrain, and utilizing their surroundings for obtaining water and additional food. The handcart trek program offered families an intermediate level of challenge and involved families (n = 8) using handcarts to transport food and camping gear over the course of the four-day period. Unlike the survival trek, families were provided with all ingredients for their meals, including fresh fruit, bagels, cookies and meat. As well, fresh water and portable outhouses were readily available to the families. Finally, the family base camp involved the lowest level of challenge, with families (n = 8) staying in cabins located on a ranch and participating in activities such as canoeing, orienteering, astronomy, and various games. Ranch staff prepared all meals and participants had access to outhouses, hot showers, and fresh water.

The primary quantitative measurement tool used within the study was the revised Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale (PARCS) used to assess the quality of communication within each family. Questions ranged from broad ones regarding family communication to ones focused upon specific issues such as trust, affection, support and conflict resolution. The PARCS was administered separately to the youth and their parents at pre- and post-intervention times, with the control group also contributing data on two separate occasions. Analyses conducted involved combining data collected from the youth and their parents in order to create a single model of family communication. As well, qualitative data was collected in order to aid in identifying specific themes/program components that may be beneficial to achieving specific program goals.

The results of the study indicated that family members from all three challenging outdoor recreation groups experienced statistically significant improvement regarding open communication, while the control group experienced no discernable change. Specifically, families who participated in the survival trek, the most challenging program, experienced the greatest improvement, with the families in the other two programs showing less marked gains. However, the authors did report that the base camp families' scores were not significantly lower than the two more challenging group scores. Additionally, qualitative analyses identified four themes as being important components of the outdoors recreational program. The first theme, "new environment," indicated that the program was able to offer an environment that was qualitatively different from the one the families experienced at home, and that this was helpful in facilitating family members in working together and spending positive time with one another while being supported by program staff. The second theme, "improvement in communication," highlighted the result that the families experienced increased communication, trust and affection while experiencing reduced conflict. The third theme, "new perceptions of family members," was evident from accounts from both youth and parents stating that they were able to see each other in different ways and better able to empathize and see things from one another's perspective. Finally, "increased family cohesion" was identified as a theme through participants reporting that their families felt closer and more unified.

Together, the results of these studies indicate that youth are less likely to engage in juvenile and persistent offending when one or more of their parents is actively involved in structured community activities. Moreover, it appears that the most positive effects may be achieved, first, when fathers participate in such activities, and second, among youth exhibiting multiple problem profiles, regardless of socio-economic status. As well, it appears that having parents and their children actively participate in challenging activities together can significantly increase the quality of communication in families, and thus decrease the likelihood that youth will engage in future delinquent and criminal behaviours. Of particular note is the finding that it is the degree to which families *perceive* the recreational activities to be challenging that is most important. As such, programs could perhaps be designed, implemented and framed in such ways as to increase families' perceptions of difficulty while keeping costs relatively low.

Cultural Awareness

Canada is recognized as being one of the world's most multicultural countries, with visible minorities making up over 16 per cent (n = 5,068,090) of the country's total population (Statistics Canada, 2007). Moreover, Ontario is the most culturally diverse of all the provinces, with close to 29 per cent (n = 2, 745,205) of its total population consisting of a visible minorities, including individuals from South Asian (28.9 per cent), Chinese (21 per cent), Black (17.3 per cent), Filipino (7.4 per cent), Latin American (5.4 per cent), and Southeast Asian (four per cent) descent (Statistics Canada, 2007). Additionally, Ontario is home to a substantial Aboriginal identity population that makes up over two per cent of the province's total population (Statistics Canada 2007). Regarding offending rates and incarceration rates, both among adults and youth, there is a great overrepresentation of visible minorities, and specifically of Aboriginal and Black males (Doob and Cesaroni, 2004).

Findings from research regarding programs and interventions directed towards visible minorities suggests that perhaps the greatest positive effects can be achieved when they are tailored to recognizing and promoting cultural awareness and distinctiveness (Emshoff, Avery, Raduka and Anderson, 1996; Okwumabua, Wong, Duryea, Okwumabua and Howell, 1999; Passmore and Davina, 2003; Soriano, Rivera, Williams, Daley and Reznick, 2004; Taylor and Doherty, 2005).

A recently published review paper identified three cultural concepts, acculturation, ethnic identity, and bicultural self-efficacy, and the nature of their relationship with known risk and protective factors associated with youth violence (Soriano, Rivera, Williams, Daley and Reznick, 2004). For the purposes of the review the authors incorporated operational definitions of each concept. First, acculturation is defined as "the process whereby the attitudes and/or behaviours of a person from one culture are modified as a result of contact with a different culture" (171), with increased levels considered as being a risk factor for involvement in youth violence. Next, ethnic identity is defined as "a commitment and sense of belonging to the group, positive evaluation of the group, interest and knowledge about the group, and involvement in social activities of the group" (171). Finally, bicultural self-efficacy is defined as the "the extent to which ethnic minorities are able to act with confidence and acceptance of their own cultural background while holding some level of appreciation of the dominant culture within major life domains" (e.g., family, school, community) (172). Higher levels of both ethnic identity and bicultural self-efficacy are considered to be protective factors against involvement in youth violence.

The review identified a number of unique relationships regarding the three cultural concepts and their relationship to known risk and protective factors linked to youth violence.[21] First, acculturation was identified as being positively associated both with substance use (Balcazar, Peterson and Cobas, 1996; Caetano, 1987; Figueroa-Moseley, 1998; Marin, Sabogal, Marin and Otero-Sabogal, 1987; Markides, Krause and Mendes, 1988; Stewart, 1999) and delinquency (Buriel, Calzada and Vasquez, 1982; Rodriguez, 1995; Wong, 1999). In contrast, higher levels of ethnic identity were found to act as protective factors against substance use (Newcomb, 1995; Townsend, 2000), engaging in violence (Terrell and Taylor, 1980), and general levels of aggression and delinquent behaviour (Buriel, Calzada and Vasquez, 1982; Jagers and Mock, 1993). As well, it was found that individuals exhibiting higher levels of ethnic identity were better in dealing with interpersonal conflict (Ting-Tommey et al., 2000). Finally, bicultural self-efficacy is posited as integral in identity development and the ability of an individual to integrate into a society due to a belief in one's own abilities to live a satisfying life by developing effective interpersonal and communication skills and a positive role in society without compromising one's sense of cultural identity (Bandura, 1997).

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[21] All references regarding the relationship between the three cultural concepts and their relationship to factors linked to youth violence are cited within Soriano, Rivera, Williams, Daley and Reznick (2004).

An earlier study employed experimental methods while investigating the possible effects that structured recreational activities with a focus upon increasing cultural awareness might have on self-esteem and, subsequently, rates of violence among African-American youth (Okwumabua, Wong, Duryea, Okwumabua and Howell, 1999). The sample of youth included in the study comprised 122 high-risk African-American male students coming from low SES backgrounds who were enrolled in grades three through six in public schools located in West Tennessee. The youth ranged in age from eight to 14 years, with an average age of slightly over ten years. Criteria for inclusion in the study included poor school attendance and academic performance, chronic disciplinary problems, and poor social skills (e.g., aggressive, not getting along with others). The authors report that each of these criteria was cross-validated through official school records and teacher ratings.

Measures used within the study included the Stephen-Rosenfield Racial Attitude Scale (SRAS), used to assess the youths' attitudes towards African-Americans as well as their individual levels of self-esteem. As well, the Banks Attitude Scale (BAS) was used to measure levels of self-concept (e.g., "I like the colour of my skin"), attitudes towards school, and attitudes towards neighbourhood (e.g., "I wish I lived in another neighbourhood"). Additionally, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Decision-Making Instrument was used to measure youths' pre-intervention baseline decision-making skills. All measures were administered in two sessions, once before and once after participating in the recreational activities intervention.

The recreational intervention itself consisted of three main components aimed at increasing the youths self-esteem: 1) decision-making skills training; 2) conflict resolution training; and 3) cultural awareness. The decision-making skills training involved formal instruction, question-answer group discussions, and role-playing activities. The conflict resolution skills component focused on both internal and external factors, including valuing oneself, anger management, conflict recognition, and mediation, with a heavy focus on role-playing and group discussions. The cultural awareness component primarily consisted of field trips aimed at enhancing the youths' awareness of, and appreciation for, African and African-American history and culture. Examples of field trips included visits to the National Civil Rights Museum and to the Black Diamonds exhibit where they interacted with, and had questions answered by, former members of the Black Diamonds Negro Baseball League of the early 1900s. Additionally, youth were familiarized with African and African-American history and with American Blues music, with a particular emphasis on the role that African-Americans played in its development and history.
In total, the recreational activity intervention was administered through weekly sessions over a period of 48 weeks, with each session lasting 50 minutes. In terms of primary focus, 12 sessions were directed towards decision-making skills, 16 were directed towards conflict resolution, three focused on self-concept development, and four involved field trips, with the remainder of the sessions being mixed-focus in nature.

The main finding garnered from this study was that the average scores regarding youths' concept of their physical characteristics (e.g., skin colour) and ethnic identity improved between the pre- and post-intervention measurements. However, these improvements were statistically significant only for youths aged ten to 11 years (physical characteristics, $p = .002$; ethnic identity, $p = .007$), with the eight to nine years and 12 to 14 years age groups showing positive but non-significant improvements. Additionally, there was no effect discerned regarding the youths' attitudes towards their neighbourhood and school. The authors suggest that the differences in improvements between age groups may indicate the need to create culturally aware recreational activities focused upon developmental appropriateness. Limitations to the study include a relatively small sample size, non-random selection, and a lack of having a control (no intervention) group. As well, at this time there is no way of knowing the effects that this specific intervention may have on rates of future juvenile and adult offending.

It appears then that programs that focus on decreasing acculturation as well as increasing ethnic identity and bicultural efficacy can more effectively aid in producing positive outcomes among at-risk visible minority youth. Specifically, positive outcomes regarding a number of undesirable behaviours, including substance use, delinquency, general aggression, and violence, as well as increasing interpersonal conflict resolution skills, are more likely to be achieved by employing programs designed to increase cultural awareness and youths' effectiveness in negotiating between origin and dominant cultures. Unfortunately, most of research on how culturally relevant recreational activates has been conducted in the United States. Canadian research is needed to determine whether these results can be generalized to Canadian youth.
Thus, within the Canadian context, future research should focus on testing for the effectiveness of programs directed towards at-risk youth belonging to distinct groups, with a particular focus upon Aboriginal and Black youth. As always, any programs designed and implemented should also account for individual differences and be developmentally appropriate.

Arts Based Programs

A number of studies assessing arts-based programs directed towards youth have reported positive benefits, including increased social skills, student creativity, and motivation to learn, as well as decreased aggression, violence, victimization, hyperactivity, and school dropout rates (Catteral, 1998; Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Foshee et al., 1998; Foshee et al., 2004; Kisiel, Blaustein, Spinazzola, Schmidt, Zucker and van der Kolk, 2006; Luftig, 1995).

A three-year study was recently conducted on the effects of the Canadian-based Learning Through the Arts™ (LTTA) program for youth participating in schools in six Canadian sites (Upitis and Smithrim, 2003). Schools included in the study were located in the following six sites: Vancouver, Calgary, Regina, Windsor, Cape Breton and Western Newfoundland. Youth who participated were between grades one and six, although particular emphasis was placed on youth who were in grade four at the time of the study's onset and at the end of grade six when it concluded. The total sample consisted of 6,675 students. At each site, control schools were selected and the authors report that almost half of them had a "school-wide initiative in place that was not related to the arts…[but rather focused on] the integration of technology across the curriculum" (9). Other control schools were matched according to size, location (e.g., urban versus rural), and socio-economic status. In total, the control sample consisted of 2,602 students, with 15 special initiative (technology-based curriculum) and 20 regular schools involved in the study.

The LTTA program is posited as a rigorous, structured curriculum program that impacts the classroom on a daily basis with a comprehensive format incorporating ongoing professional development of teachers, professional development of artists, writing of lesson plans, curriculum development, in-class delivery and continuous assessment. Additionally, LTTA offers lesson plans for all academic subjects. Specific examples of some lesson plans included in the LTTA curriculum include history through role-playing, multiplication through songwriting, science lessons through dance, language arts lessons through global percussion, and social studies lessons through story-telling.

A number of measures were included within the research design in order to test for possible effects regarding the children, parents, teachers, principals, site coordinators and artists involved in the program's implementation. All measurements were conducted at baseline and follow-up time periods during the course of the three-year study.

Students were administered different versions the Canadian Achievement Test, depending upon what grade they were in, to assess mathematical, reading and general language skills. As well, students wrote letters of appreciation according to a standardized prompt, which were used as writing samples and scored using criterion-references. Student attitudes towards school, learning, and the arts in general were also measured. Parents responded to questionnaires regarding their own leisure activities and their children's recreational activities, as well as their own attitudes towards arts in schools and children's experiences with the LTTA program.

Teachers, principals, and superintendents were asked how they felt about the program as well as about general teaching and classroom practices. Additionally, site coordinators were interviewed in order to glean a clearer understanding regarding hard-to-educate students and the success of the artists in dealing with teachers and developing the curriculum. Finally, artists involved in the LTTA program were surveyed to test for changes in beliefs and practices attributable to their involvement in the LTTA program.

The results of the study were numerous and indicated positive effects regarding the Learning Through the Arts™ program. First, it was found that there were no significant differences on mathematical tests between baseline and follow-up measurement time. The authors maintain that this is evidence that participation in arts-based school programs does not have to come at the expense of core mathematics skills attainment. As well, it was found that grade six LTTA students scored significantly higher on mathematical tests of computation and estimation in comparison with students in control schools. Additionally, it was found that benefits of the LTTA program were consistent regardless of socio-economic status.

In terms of engagement in learning, qualitative information gathered from students, teachers, parents, artists, and administrators all seemed to indicate that the LTTA program was an effective motivator for children, and emotional, physical, cognitive, and social benefits seemed to be experienced by students involved in the program. Participating in certain types of activities outside the school, such as music lessons, appeared to have a positive impact on student achievement in math and language, and students involved in such activities were more likely to belong to clubs and organized sports teams and less likely to engage in unstructured activities such as playing video games.

Ninety percent of all parents, including those in the control group, indicated that arts motivated their children to learn, with less than one per cent of them questioning the utility of incorporating the arts into school curriculums. As well, LTTA teachers and principals reported a variety of changes in classroom practices and beliefs that indicated increased commitment to teaching through the arts. However, principals also indicated some specific issues such as difficulties in aligning artists' and teachers' schedules, differential teaching abilities on the part of the artists, extra time needed from teachers, and time taken away from other curriculum areas. As well, qualitative information collected from superintendents suggested that they viewed arts as critical in education, and perceived the LTTA program as being a highly effective way of dealing with a lack of funding and variance regarding the level of expertise in elementary arts education.

Another study conducted very recently evaluated the impact that a theater-based youth violence prevention program directed towards at-risk inner-city elementary children might have on a variety of behavioural and psychological domains (Kisiel, Blaustein, Spinazzola, Schmidt, Zucker and van der Kolk, 2006). The program, entitled Urban Improv, is a school-based youth violence prevention program that has been operating in Boston public schools since 1992. The authors posit that theatre-based programs have specific advantages over other types of violence prevention programs in that they provide participants with engaging fora in the form of skits and improvisational acting scenes as well as mechanisms (e.g., role-play, perspective taking) that allow for participants to "act out, break down, and analyze the stages of a violent event in an experientially vivid manner within a safe and contained setting" (22).

Participants included in the study were 140 grade four children drawn from five inner-city schools within one school district in Boston, Massachusetts. Of the total sample, 77 children received the theatre-based intervention, while 63 children acted as a control group. Children ranged in age from age from eight to 11 years, with an average age of slightly less than ten years (M = 9.83). There were no significant differences among the total sample or between groups regarding gender, with approximately half of the sample consisting of males and half consisting of females. The sample primarily consisted of Black (44.5 per cent) and Hispanic (27.7 per cent) children, with Biracial (13.1 per cent), Asian (5.8 per cent), Other (5.8 per cent), Caucasian (2.2 per cent), and Native American (0.7 per cent) children making up the remainder of the sample. The authors report that study's sample was drawn from the particular schools chosen due to at-risk demographic factors regarding their urban locations in relatively high-crime areas.

The Urban Improv program is described as an interactive theatre and educational program designed to engage racially and ethnically diverse inner-city children and youth by offering action-oriented strategies aimed at promoting violence prevention. The authors contend that one of the strengths of the program is its focus on incorporating a variety of components recognized as being efficacious practices in promoting youth violence prevention, including group format, behavioural rehearsal, adult involvement, mentoring, self-regulation skill-building and the use of multiple strategies and techniques. As well, it is noted that the program is easily modified in order to allow for it to be developmentally appropriate for any age group. The present study's program, tailored for elementary school children, addressed the themes of friendship, self-esteem, peer pressure, violence/conflict resolution, family, imagination and sharing. Additionally, it is posited that the interactive nature of the program allows for participants to proactively practice in a safe environment different options for dealing with challenging and complex social situations that are known to often be precursors of violence. The program was administered in three nine-week installments, for a total program length of 27 weeks, with each weekly session lasting 75 minutes. Sessions always began with the children singing an original song regarding the topic of the week, followed by their acting out prepared scenes relating to the topic, with children taking turns in active and lead roles in terms of creating alternate scenes/scenarios. Sessions ended with group discussions regarding weekly topics, focusing on choices made during acting scenes and possible consequences of specific actions.

A number of measures regarding behavioural and psychological domains are included within the study, with each being administered on two separate occasions, pre- and post-intervention. First, the Social Skills Rating System-Elementary Level (SSRS) was administered both to the children and their teachers in order to measure levels of social skills, academic competence, and problem behaviours. As well, the Youth Coping Inventory (YCI), a self-report measure of coping style, was administered to the children. Finally, the Normative Beliefs About Aggression (NBA) scale was administered to children in order to assess attitudes towards and beliefs about violence and aggression.

The main findings of the study indicated that children taking part in the theatre-based youth violence prevention groups experienced increased pro-social behaviours, prevention of new-onset aggression, and decreased hyperactivity and internalizing symptoms in comparison with the control group children. Specifically, it was found that teachers of the theatre group children reported significantly decreased levels of aggressive/disruptive behaviours, while children in the control were found to increase, albeit non-significantly, regarding such behaviours. As well, teachers of the theatre group children reported statistically significant increases in pro-social behaviours, while control group teachers reported a slight decrease in pro-social behaviours. Finally, regarding academic attention and engagement, it was once again found that theatre group teachers reported significantly positive results, while control group teachers reported an increase in symptoms. All effects were evident only through teacher reports, while the children's self-reports did not capture any significant effects, positive or negative.

Another unique program aimed at adolescents, entitled Safe Dates, similarly incorporated theatre-based activities within its design in efforts to prevent and reduce adolescent dating violence. A study published in 1998 sought to assess the effects that the Safe Dates program might have on rates of dating violence perpetration and victimization among a sample of youth in North Carolina, specifically focusing on adolescents' beliefs and norms regarding date violence, gender stereotyping, and conflict management skills (Foshee et al., 1998). The Safe Dates program consists of both school and community activities, with school activities being designed to promote primary prevention and both school and community activities promoting secondary prevention. School activities included a peer performed theatre production, a ten-session curriculum, with each session lasting 45-minutes and focusing upon a specific mediating variable (e.g., dating violence norms, gender stereotyping, victimization awareness, conflict management skills), and a poster contest. Community activities included education regarding special services for adolescents in abusive relationships (e.g., support groups, parent materials, crisis lines) and community service provider training.

Youth participating in the study were grade eight and nine students drawn from 14 predominantly rural schools located in North Carolina, resulting in a total sample size of

1,886 youth. The authors rationalize using middle-school-aged youth in the study in that youth in this age range are less likely than older peers to be involved in dating violence, thus allowing for the testing of the preventative efficacy of the Safe Dates program. It is reported that students were stratified by grade and matched on school size, with one member of each pair then being randomly assigned to either an experimental (n = 943) or control group (n = 943). Experimental group youth were exposed to both school and community activities, while control group youth were exposed only to the community activities.

Measures included within the study consisted of baseline and follow-up self-report questionnaires regarding perpetration and victimization variables, including psychological abuse victimization, non-sexual violence victimization, and sexual violence victimization. As well, participants were asked to indicate dating habits (e.g., how often they date; if they are currently in a dating relationship) and possible violence within a current relationship. Additionally, the authors sought to account for the influence of four mediating variables regarding dating violence norms: 1) acceptance of prescribed norms (norms accepting dating violence under certain circumstances); 2) acceptance of proscribed norms (norms considering dating violence as unacceptable under any circumstances; 3) perceived positive consequences of dating violence; and 4) perceived negative consequences of dating violence. As well, mediating variables regarding gender stereotyping, conflict management and communication skills, and responses to anger were accounted for. The authors report that levels on all variables were not significantly different between the two groups at baseline. Post-treatment assessments were conducted one month after the Safe Dates program concluded.

A number of results were garnered from analyses conducted by the study's authors. First, it was found that among the full sample there was less psychological abuse (25 per cent), sexual violence (60 per cent), and violence perpetrated against a current dating partner (60 per cent) among adolescents in the experimental group in comparison with control group adolescents. Additionally, regarding adolescents reporting no dating violence at baseline, which the authors propose as being a primary prevention sub-sample, it was found that there were significantly fewer self-reports of psychological abuse perpetration among experimental group adolescents. Similarly, among adolescents reporting dating violence at baseline, which the authors propose as being a secondary prevention sub-sample, it was found that the experimental group adolescents reported significantly less psychological abuse and sexual violence perpetration. However, no discernable differences were evident between the experimental and control groups regarding differences in victimization of psychological abuse, non-sexual violence, sexual violence, or violence in a current relationship. Analyses examining the effect of the previously described mediating variables found that most of the effects were attributable to changes in dating violence norms, gender stereotyping and awareness of services.

A study conducted later, by most of the same authors, sought to test for possible long-term effects of the Safe Dates program as well as of a "booster" component aimed at re-familiarizing adolescents with the concepts and skills that they were exposed to during their participation in the program (Foshee et al., 2004). As a result, the follow-up study had a three-group design consisting of treatment only, treatment plus booster and a control group. Once again, adolescents completed self-report questionnaires aimed at identifying the same factors and variables previously described, this time at two years (wave four) and four years (wave six) after the completion of the Safe Dates program. Only wave six adolescents were exposed to the booster condition. The booster, administered three years after the completion of the Safe Date program, consisted of an 11-page newsletter mailed to adolescents' homes, which contained information and worksheets directly relevant to the content of the Safe Dates program, as well as a telephone conversation with a health educator approximately four weeks after the mailing of the newsletter. Because only adolescents providing baseline information as well as information at two years and four years after the completion of the Safe Dates program were included in the study, the total sample consisted of 460 adolescents, with 124 adolescents in the Safe Dates only group, 135 adolescents in the Safe Dates-plus-booster group, and 201 adolescents making up the control group. The authors report that the only statistically significant difference between the study sample and the original Safe Dates study sample was gender, with significantly more females in the current study sample (58.5 per cent) as compared with the original sample (51.2 per cent).

Analyses were conducted in such a way as to assess the effects of the Safe Dates program and the booster component independently. Regarding the Safe Dates program effects, it was found that adolescents involved in the program exhibited significantly less physical, serious physical, and sexual dating violence perpetration and victimization at the four-year follow-up as compared with those in the control group. However, no statistically significant differences were evident by the inclusion of the booster component. Additionally, the authors found no gender or race differences regarding the effectiveness of the program. An obvious limitation of these two evaluations of the Safe Dates program, however, is that they involve youth located primarily in rural areas, and so it is difficult to generalize from the results. It is possible that there is something about living in smaller rural communities (i.e., greater likelihood of being caught, greater stigma associated with dating offending/victimization) that might contribute to the positive outcomes associated with such a program. As such, future research should be conducted with various types of youth located in urban areas (e.g., different risk levels, different cultural groups, lower and higher SES) to see if the Safe Dates program still appears to be an effective way of preventing dating violence and victimization among such youth.

Together, the results of these various studies focusing on assessing arts-based school and recreational programs offer a number of insights regarding the effectiveness of such approaches, as well as directions for future research. First, it appears that arts-based school curriculums can offer some immediate and perhaps even long-term benefits to involved children without sacrificing competency levels in more traditional core subjects such as mathematics, and that this appears to hold true regardless of socio-economic background (Upitis and Smithrim, 2003). All those involved in the LTTA study indicated that they believed the program to be an effective motivating tool for learning and that children involved in the program seemed to experience a variety of positive benefits (emotional, cognitive, social, and physical). However, it is unclear how effective a program such as Learning Through the Arts™ might be with older and/or multiple problem profile youth. Arts-based school programs dealing with youth from various cultural backgrounds may need to incorporate a heavier focus upon specific cultural awareness techniques such as learning how to play traditional instruments or learning about specific historical events linked to their cultures. Some barriers to program effectiveness were identified, such as scheduling issues, variance in artists' teaching abilities and extra time needed from teachers. It may be helpful for future research to assess training programs for artists involved, as well as adding techniques aimed at promoting a greater degree of organization/cooperation between teachers and artists.

Results of the studies assessing arts-based recreational activities focused on specific behaviours/issues rather than upon academics also suggest positive benefits. Specifically, structured programs incorporating theatre components while focusing on making cognitive and behavioural changes appear to be effective in promoting pro-social behaviours and preventing general aggression, hyperactivity, and internalizing symptoms among at-risk elementary-aged school children. However, effects were only significant when considering teachers' reports, and so future research should be conducted to glean a better understanding of how children and their parents perceive this and similar programs. As well, long-term follow-up studies should be conducted to determine if such programs have significant effects regarding long-term outcomes. Finally, theatre-based programs aimed at preventing dating violence among youth appear to be effective, but the studies presented within this report deal only with a very specific rural youth population. Future research should be conducted with various types of youth in terms of location, risk-level, age, race, and socio-economic background. Due to the finding that the booster included in the follow-up study was not found to be efficacious, it is suggested that future studies be conducted in attempts to identify effective strategies for maintaining positive effects of programs such as Safe Dates.

Secondary Benefits

Above and beyond the primary and immediate benefits that quality child care and structured recreational activities can offer are a host of secondary benefits in terms of long-term social, behavioural, and cognitive effects regarding both at-risk children and their families (Doherty, 1991; McKay, Reid, Tremblay and Pelletier, 1996). One study conducted in Ontario tested for the possibility of reasonably long-term effects of two-year exposure to subsidized quality child care and recreational activities (Brown et al., 1999). Specifically, a variety of behavioural, social, and cognitive outcomes for at-risk children, as well as a number of secondary effects regarding parents and their use of social service resources, were assessed. Parents deemed eligible to receive social assistance were approached to participate in the study, resulting in an initial baseline sample of 765 families with 1,300 children, who were then randomly assigned to either a proactive recreation/childcare group (treatment condition) or a self-directed recreation/childcare group (control condition). Due to attrition, the final sample at the two-year follow-up time period consisted of 173 families with 337 children in the proactive/treatment group and 188 families with 304 children in the self-directed/control group. The age of the children ranged from newborn to 24 years.

Families in the proactive/treatment group were provided with age-appropriate child after-school recreation opportunities and subsidized recreation/quality childcare intervention through a collaborative effort between the local YMCA and a variety of other youth-serving organizations. The authors report that children up to 13 years of age joined existing YMCA-based programs that were tailored for their age group, with school-based programs being offered for the high-school-aged youth and re-employment initiatives for youth between 18 and 24 years of age. In contrast, children in families assigned to the self-directed/control condition were offered no additional provider-initiated or financed recreation/childcare service. Instead, parents and children in this group were free to enroll in recreation activities of their own choosing and received no subsidy.

Measurement tools assessing possible primary effects regarding children's involvement in the proactive/treatment group involved a variety of age-appropriate psychiatric and child competence scales administered at baseline and follow-up time periods. Specifically, the Survey Diagnostic Instrument of the Ontario Child Health Study was administered to assess the possible presence of childhood psychiatric disorders (e.g., conduct disorder, hyperactivity, neuroses) in children aged four years and older. Parents of children under four years, depending upon their specific age, reported on their child's behaviour through either the Minnesota Child Development Inventory (MCDI) or the Early Child Development Inventory (ECDI), which are used to assess gross and fine motor skills, language, comprehension, and personal-social skills, as well as the possibility of specific developmental problems.

Secondary effects were focused on testing for differences in parent mood, social adjustment, and use of health and social services from baseline to follow-up. Specifically, the University of Michigan Composite International Diagnostic Interview (UM-CIDI) was used to assess parents' emotional well-being in terms of depressive episode, generalized anxiety, panic attacks, and alcohol and substance abuse. As well, the Social Adjustment Scale (SAS) was utilized for measuring parental adjustment and quality of life variables, focusing on specific areas within the broader domains of social and vocation function. Parent employment activities were assessed in terms of months of job training and months to financial independence (partial or full).[22] For the purposes of this study, economic savings were defined as expenditures avoided due to decreased use of social and health services in the past year, assessed using the Health and Social Service Utilization Inventory (HSSUI).

The general results of the study found that in comparison with children in the self-directed/control group, the proactive/treatment group children were engaged in more activities and, specifically, in more high-quality structured activities (e.g., social clubs, sports teams), and that involvement in such activities was associated with higher levels of social and overall competence. Moreover, benefits regarding competency were found to be most pronounced among children identified with an initial behavioural disorder at baseline. As well, children in the proactive/treatment group were lower users of physician, social work, and childcare services. Parents of the children in the proactive/treatment group reported fewer nervous system, sleep, and anxiety disorders, and required less childcare, counselling, and food bank services. As well, these parents were more likely to indicate greater economic social adjustment as well as receiving more child support from former spouses/partners. Regarding overall economic savings, the authors report that, after considering the cost of the recreation services provided, the total costs of services were not significantly different between the two groups.

Another more recently conducted Canadian study also sought to test for secondary benefits that various provider-initiated interventions in health and social services might have on sole-support parents (almost exclusively mothers) of at-risk children (Browne, Byrne, Roberts, Gafni and Whittaker, 2001). The authors note that research indicates that single-parent mothers receiving social assistance are especially vulnerable to lower health status, greater likelihood of having a psychiatric disorder, higher risk of mental health co-morbidity, and that they use more mental health services. As well, the authors note that children in such households are more likely to experience maladjustment during childhood, have mental health problems, exhibit anti-social behaviour and engage in future criminality, have co-morbid emotional and behavioural problems, and experience abuse from their mothers.

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[22] *Parents may engage in part-time or full-time work and still be eligible to receive supplementary assistance if income is below the poverty line for their family size.*

A total sample of 765 parents and 1,300 children located in Ontario and deemed as eligible for social assistance were included in the study and randomly assigned to receive one of five treatment strategies: 1) basic social assistance and self-directed resources; 2) basic social assistance plus health promotion; 3) basic social assistance plus employment retraining; 4) basic social assistance plus recreation/childcare/skills development programs; and 5) basic social assistance plus all extra resources available to groups 2, 3, and 4. The health promotion intervention consisted of an outreach public health nurse case manager visiting families' homes over a one-year period to assess need for resources and aid in instilling positive feelings and empowerment. The employment re-training intervention consisted of employment counsellors providing from one to six sessions during the initial six-month period, involving assessments of needs, employment preparation, and resource inventory brokerage, followed by six-month follow-up visits for up to two years. The recreation intervention involved subsidized, age-appropriate, after-school recreation/childcare/skills development provided through the previously described collaborative effort between the local YMCA and 21 other youth serving organizations. Once again, measurement tools were administered at both baseline and follow-up times in order to test for possible effects attributable to the interventions. Individual-level assessment tools included are identical to those described in the previous study. Once again the Health and Social Service Utilization Inventory (HSSUI) was incorporated in order to assess families' use of all types of health and social services, with economic savings being defined as expenditures averted due to parental exits from social assistance over a one-year period or decreased use of health and social services.

The results of the study are categorized in terms of individual-level effects and economic savings. Regarding individual-level effects, it was found that all groups exhibited decreases in parental mood disorders and child behaviour disorders, as well as increases in adult social adjustment, with no significant differences between any of the groups. Additionally, it was found that children in the two groups in which recreation programs were provided experienced increases in competence compared with those children not offered recreation programs, and that this effect was found to be strongest among children identified as having a behaviour disorder. Regarding social independence, findings indicated that parents who received comprehensive care were significantly more likely to cease using social assistance at some point during the previous 12 months. Finally, regarding savings/expenses, it was found that, except for the employment retraining group, all groups experienced a minimum 50 per cent reduction in per-parent expenditures. The authors also note that by the two-year follow-up period, the cost of health and social services used by the self-directed control group was equivalent to the cost of providing these services proactively to the group with the most comprehensive care package profile.

Together, these studies indicate that offering comprehensive provider-initiated childcare and recreation services to at-risk families can help not only to produce a number of immediate and primary benefits regarding at-risk children, but also an array of secondary benefits regarding parental outcomes in a number of domains. Such benefits can conceivably lead to significant short- and long-term effects regarding financial gains and societal benefits. As well, the results of these studies suggest that it is no more expensive to provide such comprehensive services. In fact, due to demonstrated reductions in parental mood disorder and child behaviour disorders, as well as increases in parents' social competence and child competence levels, especially for those exhibiting behavioural issues, a proactive comprehensive care approach is likely to be more cost-effective in the long run.

Conclusion

Ultimately, it appears that youth involvement in recreation activities can lead to a number of positive primary and secondary outcomes, and that the greatest effects appear to occur among youth with multiple risk profiles. However, there is evidence to suggest that the positive outcomes associated with such programs are highly dependent upon the need for structure, and that low-structured youth recreation may in fact produce negative effects. As well, recreation programs that are more holistic in nature, focusing on individual, family, school, peer, community, and societal factors are those found to be the most effective. Moreover, it appears that focusing on parent and peer involvement in youth recreation can play an important role in mediating the positive effects of specific programs. Family-based programs focused on instilling perceptions of activities being challenging may also prove to be promising approaches. As well, it is important to recognize the role that culture can play when designing and implementing programs aimed at youth from different cultural backgrounds and/or from visible minority groups. Arts-based recreation appears to be a promising alternative for a number of youth, but a great deal of research still needs to be conducted in order to better determine what aspects of such programs work best in specific settings and how best to maintain any positive benefits associated with them. As well, there are a number of secondary benefits in terms of parental outcomes that provider-initiated comprehensive childcare and recreation appears to be associated with, including increased emotional and social competence. The effects of such secondary outcomes may be best discerned through long-term follow-up studies regarding future outcomes of at-risk children within such families. Finally, it is vital that continual assessments are conducted by objective researchers and that programs are methodologically designed in such a manner as to allow for sound experimental research. Without valid and reliable research being conducted, there is simply no way to state with any level of confidence, what does or does not work regarding youth recreation approaches.

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Community Development Strategies[23]

Introduction

During his election campaign, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper repeatedly emphasized a tough law-and-order platform based on the premise that "our safe streets and healthy communities are increasingly under the threat of gun, gang, and drug violence" (Harper, personal webpage). Harper's solution: more policing, mandatory minimum sentences for gun-related offences and longer periods of incapacitation for repeat and violent offenders.

The implementation of these measures is based on a "reactive" crime-fighting strategy, whereby the imposition of tough, draconian sanctions is the direct response to crimes that have *already taken place.* While much of policing has traditionally been based on this reactive paradigm, there has increasingly been an emphasis on enacting "proactive" strategies that seek to promote change *before crimes occur*.

One proactive approach that has garnered significant public attention has been the implementation of community-based crime prevention strategies. While there has been a lot of ambiguity surrounding the precise meaning of "community-based crime prevention," and what falls under this general rubric (Welsh and Hoshi, 2002:165), the common denominator of these approaches is that they all emphasize the importance of fostering community-based collaborations in the prevention of crime. This is based on the assumption that neighbourhoods themselves are criminogenic (Sampson and Wilson, 1995; Shaw and McKay, 1942) and so, in order for policies and programs to be effective, the broader social environment has to be targeted.

The present paper provides an elaborate review of the community-based crime prevention initiatives that have been implemented in an effort to reduce youth violence. Particularly, this paper will evaluate the research that has been conducted over the past decade, and will critically assess the methodological rigour of the various studies conducted on violence prevention programs. Given that most of the evaluations have, to date, been conducted in the United States, this review will primarily be structured around the American literature.

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[23] *This chapter was written with the assistance of Steve Cook, Ph.D candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto.*

The present review will be structured in the following manner: first, an overview of the theoretical underpinnings of community-based crime prevention strategies will be offered. Next, the existing body of literature will be summarized in order to provide the necessary context. Building on these reviews, the literature from the past decade will be reviewed thematically. Finally, this review will end with a synthesis of the literature, outlining future directions for study in the area of community-based crime prevention programs.

The Theory of Community-Based Crime Prevention

The implementation of a community-based approach for reducing youth violence is based on a rich theoretical tradition that can be traced back to the famous "Chicago School" studies of the early 20th century (Welsh and Hoshi, 2002: 166–67; Rosenbaum, 1988: 326). These studies emphasized the importance of neighbourhood composition in the determination of crime rates, and specified that communities with high levels of transience, an ethnically heterogeneous population, and a large proportion of young males are most likely to be characterized as high-crime societies (Cullen and Agnew, 2006: 87). Shaw and McKay (1942) found that, over time, Chicago's crime rates clustered within specific geographical regions of the city regardless of the ethnic composition of those who inhabited the area (Cullen and Agnew, 2006: 87). Shaw and McKay concluded that there was a high level of social disorganization endemic to these communities, and that this disorganization mediated the relationship between the individual and crime. While the theory of social disorganization has been refined and wrapped in a new cloak over time (e.g., Sampson and Wilson, 1995), the central premise has remained largely the same: socially disorganized communities have lower levels of *informal social control*, which ultimately erodes the shared norms and beliefs in the community. These low levels of informal social control combine to create a highly criminogenic society, so in order to prevent crime, programs have to strengthen social ties and create an enhanced sense of community (Cullen and Agnew, 2006: 87).

A slightly different theoretical approach to studying community-based crime prevention argues that, similarly to social disorganization theory, increasing the levels of community cohesion is an important prerequisite for preventing crime. Popularized by the theory of broken windows, the focus of this line of research is not to address the structural inequalities that ultimately lead to crime; rather, the focus is on the more proximal characteristic of creating social order, which can be attended to by altering the physical characteristics of the environment. The broken windows thesis is predicated on the assumption that crime is about the "breakdown of social control," and the first step in the dissolution of social control is the presence of social disorder (Cullen and Agnew, 2006: 457). Using their famous broken windows" analogy, Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued that the presence of social disorder (e.g., drunks, loiterers, prostitutes) is like a broken window, and if it is not fixed, then "all of the other windows will soon be broken" (31). Crime prevention efforts are therefore necessarily centred on fixing these broken windows, which is tantamount to cleaning the seemingly socially disordered elements of the community and making them appear orderly. The re-exertion of social control is usually achieved in the form of various types of policing, although the broader community is also often included (e.g., neighbourhood watches, anonymous tip lines), with the end result being greater levels of social cohesion and a redefined sense of community.

Although the broken windows theory operates from a more conservative framework to prevent crime than the social disorganization theory, both theories emphasize that in order for crime prevention programs to be effective, the inclusion of community preventative efforts is absolutely essential.

Previous Reviews on Community-Based Crime Prevention Strategies

The theoretical appeal of community-based crime prevention strategies, and the precipitous costs associated with youth violence has brought forth an emergence of a myriad of different community-based crime prevention programs. Now part of the popular vernacular, these programs are part of the crime prevention literature more generally, a $4 billion dollar per year industry in the United States alone (Sherman, 2002: 1).

Despite the costs associated with implementing these programs, they have remained surprisingly resistant to evaluations and evidence of their effectiveness (Welsh and Hoshi, 2002; Rosenbaum, 1988). Dennis Rosenbaum (1988), in his earlier synthesis of the crime prevention literature, was strongly supportive of the theoretical rationale for these programs, but was adamant about the need for an accompanying body of research to support their efficacy. When addressing why there is not a consensus on "what works," Rosenbaum pointed directly to the quality of the evaluation research, and stated that "unless evaluations are funded adequately and conducted by trained researchers, they should not be conducted at all because the results are usually untrustworthy" (381).

The inadequacies of the literature were re-emphasized by Welsh and Hoshi (2002) who (writing some 14 years later) stated that "community-based crime prevention does not, at the present time, demonstrate evidence of proven effectiveness in reducing crime" (189). Although they are similarly critical of ideologically driven programs that do not attempt to evaluate their effectiveness, Welsh and Hoshi (2002) do cite a number of encouraging trends in the evaluation literature, and emphasize the need to abandon the "nothing works" philosophy in favour of a more rigorous understanding of effective practices and principles (Welsh and Hoshi 2002: 189).

Neither of these reviews, importantly, questions the underlying theoretical framework upon which violence prevention programs are based. Instead, these reviews redirect our attention towards empirically substantiating the theoretical significance of these programs in an objective, methodologically correct and rigorous manner (Welsh and Hoshi, 2002: 189–90; Rosenbaum, 1988).

The Current Review

The purpose of this review is to examine the recent literature that has been published in the area of community-based crime prevention, with a specific emphasis on the methodological advancements that have been made over the course of the last decade. Focusing only on those programs that were formally evaluated, this literature will be organized into the following sections: community-based gun prevention, community-based gang prevention programs, community-based school prevention programs, and community empowerment programs. Each section will be considered in turn.

Following a synthesis of the literature, a detailed discussion will be offered that summarizes the current state of knowledge with respect to community-based crime prevention strategies, emphasizing future directions for research and policy.

Community Based Gun Prevention Programs

Gun-related violence constitutes a serious public health problem. In the United States, 32,000 Americans died of gunshot wounds in 1997, which was greater than the number of people who died from AIDS or liver disease in the same year (Cook and Ludwig, 2000: 15). Or, to place gun-related violence in a more historical context, over one million Americans have been killed since 1965, which is greater than the total number of American soldiers killed in all the foreign wars of the 20th century (Cook and Ludwig, 2000: 15).

Given the exorbitant costs associated with gun violence, a lot of impetus has been directed toward ways in which gun-related violence can be prevented. One specific area of investigation has been the implementation of gun buy-back programs in the United States. In their review of the evaluation literature, Welsh and Hoshi (2002) found that the efficacy of gun buy-back programs has been plagued by a series of serious methodological weaknesses, and as a whole, the body of scientific research has failed to support the belief that these types of programs are an effective means of preventing criminal gun violence (189). Kuhn et al. (2002) concurred with Welsh and Hoshi's conclusions (143), and found that in the case of Milwaukee, gun buy-backs typically yield different types of handguns than those used in either homicides or suicides (145). The tentative conclusion from these studies, then, is that while gun buy-backs do create a great deal of media exposure (Kuhn et al., 2002: 145.), they have not been empirically validated as a reasonable strategy to prevent gun-violence.

Another community-based prevention strategy for dealing with gun-related violence has been a series of locally based American programs, which have been funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). These programs are all based on the seminal findings of Operation Ceasefire, a collaborative community-based intervention between the Boston Police Department and researchers from Harvard University. Recognizing the important interactions between workers in a wide variety of law enforcement, social service and other professional capacities (Braga et al., 2001: 218), Operation Ceasefire was centred around the "pulling levers" philosophy, a deterrence strategy where the emphasis was placed on a small number of chronically offending gang youth. The implementation of this large, interdisciplinary framework resulted in significant reductions of youth violence and homicide in Boston (Braga et al., 2001: 219), and the program has generally been deemed a solid success (Roehl et al., 2006: 1). Despite the absence of a "true experimental design," the study utilized robust evaluation methods and supported the underlying theory that, when properly implemented, various groups can work together to decrease youth violence.

Operating at roughly the same time as Operation Ceasefire, a multidisciplinary team of researchers and community agencies in Atlanta, Georgia were also evaluating a preventative youth violence initiative called Pulling America's Communities Together (PACT), mandated to implement "a problem-solving approach to juvenile gun violence" (Kellerman et al., 2006: 3). The PACT program was predicated on the assumption that gun violence was the end result of a series of illegal activities and, in order to prevent gun violence, the earlier stages of illegal activities needed to be interrupted. Primarily targeting the purchasing and selling of illegal handguns, the program ran for five years (1995 to 1999), and over the duration of the study, the number of homicides in Atlanta fell 18 per cent (Kellerman et al., 2006: 23). The authors were careful to note, however, that the sharp decline in the homicide rate was accompanied by a more general decline in the homicide rate at both the state and national level. The authors did not statistically adjust for these macro-level shifts in the homicide rate, and as such, the evidence could not explicitly link the change in Atlanta's homicide rate to the impact of the PACT program.

Funding for Atlanta's PACT program ended in 1999, and the Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI), an intensive violence prevention program funded by the U.S. attorney's office, replaced PACT. Organized, around the principles of the Operation Ceasefire initiative, SACSI comprised a multi-agency collaborative endeavour between community agencies, the police, and the research community with the specific mandate of using best-known practices to reduce violent crime at the local level (Kellerman, et al., 2006: 29; Roehl et al., 2005: 1).

The distinguishing characteristic of the SACSI programs was the fact that they were based on collaborations between the police, the broader community and academic researchers, with the specific goal of empirically evaluating the extent to which these programs successfully decreased the levels of violence. The SACSI program, in other words, addressed the harsh criticism of earlier reviews (e.g., Rosenbaum, 1988), and allocated resources to evaluate their initiative.

The SACSI programs, in total, consisted of 10 geographically and demographically diverse cities, evaluated in two separate phases (see table 1 for a summary of the 10 cities evaluated). Throughout the period of evaluation, the violent crime rate immediately dropped in most cities (Roehl et al., 2006: 4), and the body of research, considered in its entirety, reveals that preventative policies integrating various community partnerships can have a positive impact on the crime rate (Roehl et al., 2006: 78–80).

While the SACSI programs were not designed to specifically answer youth violence, any initiative aimed at reducing violent crime rate necessarily has to focus on youth, given that they comprise the highest risk of violent offending and victimization (Farrington, 1986). Three programs were specifically designed around the prevention of youth gun-related violence, and as such, each of these programs will be reviewed below.

The Strategic Approach to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI) began in St. Louis in the fall of 2000 and continued through 2003. The need to prevent gun-related violence in St. Louis was great, given the fact that St. Louis has traditionally had homicide rates that ranked in the top 10 nationally, and within the confines of the city, homicide rates had traditionally clustered around seven hot spots. (Decker et al., 2005: 8). Furthermore, the homicide rates for Black males aged 15 to 19 exceeded 380 per 100,000, and for Black males reached 600 per 100,000. For these groups, firearms accounted for over 95 per cent of the deaths among this group (Decker et al., 2005: 6). The St. Louis SACSI project, therefore, consisted of a series of preventive interventions, policing, and deterrence strategies to decrease the gun-related homicide rates in this specific demographic. Using a saturation enforcement model, selected aggressive police enforcement, and an emergency-room intervention, the homicide rate in Atlanta fell from its 10-year average of 175 to 113 in 2002 and 68 in 2003 (Decker, 2005: 49). While these findings are striking (and were much greater than the relative homicide rate drops in other jurisdictions), these studies' findings are limited by the short time period following the implementation of the program, and the absence of robust time series models that could account for potential biases in the data (e.g., period effects, cohort effects).

Initiated in Winston-Salem North Carolina, and targeted directly at the issue of youth violence, the SACSI program established a working group to study the issue of youth violence, and from this, an intervention was designed and evaluated. The intervention consisted of a continued outreach program by police and community agencies that attempted to bring together a diverse group of community representatives. Specifically, the intervention services provided through SACSI included job training, job placement, mentoring, family-based services, and after-school activities (Roehl et al. 2006: 13). The evaluation of the Winston-Salem SACSI program revealed a 58 per cent decrease in juvenile robberies and a 19 per cent decrease in juvenile incidents in target neighbourhoods (Roehl et al., 2006: 20). However, while these decreases were significant, at least one-fifth of the targeted group committed at least one violent act (Easterling et al., 2002: 13). Furthermore, without a control group, the authors could not make definitive statements about the counterfactual (Easterling et al., 2002: 13). They conclude by recommending that future studies should 1) adopt a reasonable model of behaviour change to guide the development of strategies; 2) be more strategic in the choice of leverage points that could produce behaviour change; and 3) maintain a culture of strategic thinking (Easterling et al., 2002: 13–14).

Finally, the SACSI program began in Rochester, New York in the spring of 2001 and continued through 2004. Emphasizing that the process of implementing a collaborative intervention is "less linear than a Request for Proposals might suggest," (Klofas et al., 2007: 141), the end result was the continuation and reinforcement of a collaborative team of criminal justice professionals to address the problem(s) associated with youth violence (Klofas et al., 2007: 142). The research team was also granted full access to Rochester's Crime Analysis Unit, and the researchers were able to gain a wide range of "census, school, and community data that provide a rich and comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of youth violence" (Roehl et al., 2006: 38). This research found that there was a statistically significant reduction in the homicide rate in Rochester during the preceding 12 months, and that this trend was particularly true for young, Black males who are at particular risk for being involved in gun-related violence (Klofas et al., 2007).

Table 1. SACSI Community-Based Gun Prevention Programs in 10 U.S. Cities

U.S. City	Focus of SACSI Initiative, and years of study	Type of Intervention	Methodology and Statistics	Results and Conclusions
Albuquerque	Focus on reducing homicide, firearms violence, and aggravated assault	Emphasis on prevention and on the policing (arrest, enforcement, deterrence models, and saturation patrols	-Number of homicides and violent crimes reported annually	-Homicide rates remained the same -Violent crime decreased slightly
Atlanta	Focus on homicide, firearms violence	Emphasis on policing (arrest, enforcement, and prosecution), and prevention strategies (jobs, job training, awareness campaigns)	-Number of homicide crime rates reported annually	-Homicide rates dropped from 38.5 to 33.8 -Violent crime rates dropped significantly
Detroit	Focus on homicide and violent crime rates	Emphasis on policing (arrest, enforcement, and prosecution), and prevention strategies	-Number of homicides and violent crime rates	-Homicide rate decreased from 54 annually to 40 annually -Violent crimes decreased from around 2700 annually to around 2000 annually
Indianapolis	Focus on homicide and firearms violence	Emphasis on policing (arrest, enforcement, and prosecution), and prevention strategies (jobs, job training, awareness campaigns)	-Number of homicides, aggravated with a gun and armed robberies reported weekly from January 1997-June, 2001.	-53 per cent decrease in gun assaults vs. 19 per cent city wide -44 per cent decrease armed robberies in target neighbourhood vs. 8 per cent city wide
Memphis	Focus on rape and sexual assault	Emphasis on prosecution, parole and probation strategies, and prevention strategies	-Number of forcible rates reported annually	-Forcible rapes decreased from 938 annually to 480 annually

New Haven	-Focus on reducing firearms violence	Emphasis on arrest, enforcement, suppression, deterrence, public awareness	-Number of homicides, assaults, and armed robberies reported annually	-Violent crime rates dropped 24.4 per cent in target areas compared with 15 per cent in all cities -Homicide rates dropped 35 per cent compared with 20.4 per cent in other cities
Portland	-Focus on violent crime among 15-24 year olds	-Emphasis on community policing, prevention (job training), arrest, suppression, enforcement, seizures, saturation patrols (gun prosecution),	-Number of homicides, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults reported annually	-Homicide decreased 51.7 per cent in target city and 36.3 per cent country wide -Violent crime rates decreased 36.2 per cent in target city vs. 26.6 per cent in all cities
Rochester	-Focus on youth and the prevention of firearm violence	-Emphasis on community policing, child and family services, policing (arrest, enforcement), on deterrence, and on saturation patrols	-Number of homicides, and violent rates reported annually	-Increased from 19.6 annually to 20.2 annually (homicide) -Violent crimes dropped from around 897 annually to around 800 annually
St. Louis	-Focus on reducing homicide and firearm violence	-Emphasis on prevention (awareness), home visits, gun prevention, and enforcement and suppression strategies	-Number of homicides and violent crimes reported annually	-Homicide rate dropped from 39.0 annually to 32.5 annually -Violent crime rate dropped from approximately 2500 annually to 2000 annually
Winston-Salem	-Focus on violent crime under 18	Emphasis on prevention strategies (employment, job training and on enforcement strategies and home visits	-Pre-test/post-test comparisons of arrest records in 4 targeted neighbourhoods	-Significant decrease in the homicide rates -Juvenile incidents down 19 per cent, juvenile robberies down 58 per cent

The 10 SACSI initiatives funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) have all morphed into Project Safe Neighborhood (PSN), which incorporates enforcement, supervision, prevention, and intervention strategies in all local U.S. Attorney districts throughout the country (Roehl et al., 2006: 77). By extending the PSN policies nationally (but still implementing them at the local level), the standardization of SACSI's community-based collaborations and integration can be fostered, while allowing enough flexibility to ensure that the strategies can be tailored to the unique individual context of the community (McGarrell, 2005: 21).

Project Safe Neighborhood is the latest version of community-based prevention programs designed to stop gun-related crimes before they happen. These PSN programs, funded by the National Institute of Justice, have increasingly stressed a community-based collaboration, and the continued importance of evaluating these programs with trained researchers. While the findings have not been unanimous, and while some methodological questions persist, these programs have generally resulted in decreased levels of gun-related violence after the initiation of the various programs. These PSN results are encouraging, and there is enough scientific evidence to justify the continued implementation and evaluation of these types of programs.

Community-Based Gang Prevention

Similarly to the literature on gun-related violence, gang-related violence has been perceived as a largely American phenomenon. The National Youth Gang Survey (NYGS), for example, reports that in large cities (over 50,000 people), approximately 80 per cent of police agencies report the existence of gang-related problems (Egley and Ritz, 2006: 1). In terms of prevalence, the NYGS estimates that there are approximately 760,000 gang members in the United States, representing some 24,000 gangs (Egley and Ritz, 2006: 1).

While studies have documented the existence of a gang-related problem with Canadian youth (see Leschied and Heng, 2007; Wortley and Tanner, 2006: 1; Westmacott, Stys and Brown, 2005), the size and scope of the problem is still largely unknown. The consensus in the current research is that gangs do constitute a growing concern in Canada (Leschied and Heng, 2007; Wortley and Tanner, 2006; Westmacott, Stys and Brown, 2005), and future evaluations are needed in order to determine the conditions under which these gangs exist.

The Canadian and American literature, considered together, has warranted a significant amount of attention with respect to ways in which community-based prevention programs can be used to decrease the rates of gang violence. These community-based gang prevention efforts can be traced back to Thrasher's (1936) seminal study of gang membership in New York. By providing a group of high-risk and underprivileged youth access to a Boys Club, Thrasher hypothesized that the negative characteristics of the criminogenic environment could be circumvented and these children would ultimately be less likely to engage in delinquent and truant behaviours. Thrasher (1936) failed to find that the Boys club was associated with a decrease in juvenile delinquency; however, he did offer a pioneering framework for preventatively addressing juvenile delinquency by focusing on the community.

Welsh and Hoshi (2002) reviewed the community-based gang prevention literature, and separated the research into two distinct categories: gang prevention and gang intervention programs. Gang prevention programs, according to Welsh and Hoshi, were programs that focused on discouraging high-risk children and youth from gang membership, while gang intervention programs were designed around targeting youth already involved in gang activity (Welsh and Hoshi, 2002: 172). Based on the scientific literature, they found that the gang intervention programs used "moderately strong" (179) scientific methodology, and that there is evidence that programs designed to reduce cohesion among youth gangs comprise a "promising community-crime prevention modality" (179). These findings are much stronger than the gang prevention studies, and in particular, Welsh and Hoshi point to the efficacy of Operation Ceasefire in preventing gang-related violence.

Operation Ceasefire, to reiterate, was a collaborative endeavour between the police, academic researchers from Harvard University, and workers from a wide range of social service disciplines. Their efforts were primarily centred on a deterrence-based strategy called "pulling levers," and focused on both gun-related crimes and gang-related behaviours. These two behaviours are positively and strongly associated with one another, and the focus on preventing both led to statistically significant reductions in both gang- and gun-related violence in Boston's youth (cited in Welsh and Hoshi, 2002: 179).

Operation Ceasefire's success at reducing both gun-related and gang-related violence lends support to the need for broad-based community interventions. In fact, research has shown that both prevention and suppression programs, implemented in isolation, have had little impact on preventing gang-related violence (Esbensen, 2000), and therefore, gang prevention and intervention efforts require the collaboration of resources in a manner that seeks change on both the individual and societal level.

This review of the community-based gang prevention literature will focus on a number of evaluations that have taken place since the original publication of the Operation Ceasefire study in 1988 (see table 2 for a summary of the recent literature), and will then synthesize the current state of the literature.

Foremost among the community-based gang prevention initiatives has been the Gang Violence Reduction Program (GVRP) in Chicago's Little Village neighbourhood. Originally piloted in the early 1980s, the GVRP has long employed a multi-modal strategy in order to reduce and prevent gang-related violence on Chicago's south side. The program, collaborating between the police and broader community agencies, employed a variety of integrated community strategies including community mobilization, suppression, intervention, and development. Using the language of the researchers, the program was designed to represent "an interorganizational and community approach to the youth gang problem in its most violent form" (Spergel and Grossman, 1997). The evaluation of the program itself (2003; 1997) specifically targeted gang members from two competing gangs, who accounted for approximately 70 per cent of the region's gang violence (Westmacott, 2005:16–17). This sample of at-risk youth received extensive contact with a variety of program staff an average of four times per week, and logistic regression analyses reveal that youth who had more contact with workers had less involvement with gang activity relative to those who had less contact with workers. In addition, the overall violent crime rates for these youth were significantly lower when compared with the control groups (Spergel, 2007; 2003; Westmacott et al., 2006: 16). The authors were careful to note one caveat: while the targeted group did have reduced levels of legal involvement, the program did not affect macro-level change in gang activity.

Targeting at-risk youth in order to reduce gang-related activity has become a popular strategy for preventing youth violence in the community more generally. Similar to the GVRP, the Building Resources for the Intervention and Deterrence of Gang Engagements (BRIDGE) was designed around a preventative framework for youth aged 12 to 19, and was implemented in the City of Riverside, California starting in 2001. The program consisted of a wide range of programs, including job training, free driver training, and individual counselling (Westmacott et al., 2005: 15), and the pre-test/post-test evaluation did not find support for the reduction of gang-related activity and crime (Seachrest et al., 2003). When combining the outcomes of the program with the expense, the evaluators concluded that the program should be given low priority for continued funding (Westmacott et al., 2005: 15).

Table 2. Community-Based Gang Prevention Programs

Author Name	Title of Study	Type of Intervention	Methodology and Statistics	Results and Conclusions
Spergel, 2007; Spergel et al., 2003; Choi et al., 2000; Spergel and Grossman, 1997	The Little Village Gang Violence Reduction Project in Chicago	-Community strategies including: community mobilization, gang suppression, gang intervention, personal development	-Time series, before-after, multivariate regression, logistic regression, comparison with control group -Measuring contact with youth workers, self-reported behaviour, and crime patterns	-More counselling leads to less offending -Compared with control groups, crime was reduced -Overall gang membership in the community was not affected
Seachrest et al., 2003	Building Resources for the Intervention and Deterrence of Gang Engagement (BRIDGE) in Riverside, California	-Targeted at-risk youth with job training, driver training, and counselling	-Pre-test/post-test evaluation	-No statistical support for the efficacy of the program -arrest rates were actually higher post program
Esbensen and Osgood, 1999; Ramsey et al., 2003	Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) program, Arizona	-9 week training program for at-risk youth from local police	-Cross-sectional posttest design with statistically robust weighting techniques	-Moderate effects (effect size) on pro-social behaviours and self-reported behaviour
Esbensen, 2001	Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) program, Arizona	-9 week training program for at-risk youth from local police	-Longitudinal follow-up of randomly selected participants from the GREAT program with a randomly selected control group	-Failure to replicate cross sectional results; students fail to show find consistent behavioural or attitudinal differences
Williams, Curry and Cohen, 2002	Gang Prevention Programs for female adolescents: an evaluation in Boston, Colorado, and Seattle	-Support groups, personal growth, conflict resolution, and self-esteem enhancement	-Process evaluation, interviews, observations -Pre-test/post-test design	-All the programs faced a series of problems regarding implementation and inadequate data. Results not trustworthy

Unlike the BRIDGE program and the BVRP program, the Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) program recruited youth from a school-based sample. While the authors' sample selection process was methodologically unique, and allowed for a greater pool of potential participants, the project similarly targeted youth who were at risk for future gang membership. Located in Arizona, the GREAT program consisted of a nine-week school-based program that was designed to 1) reduce gang activity; and 2) to educate young people about the consequences of gang membership and involvement (Esbensen and Osgood, 1999: 198). Results from this cross-sectional survey suggest that: "students who participated in the GREAT program reported significantly more prosocial behaviors and attitudes than those who did not participate in the program" (Esbensen and Osgood, 1999: 216). The authors are careful to note that their evaluation was very short-term, and therefore, the group of at-risk children was not yet at an age to comprise the most serious risk for gang violence (Esbensen and Osgood, 1999: 217).

Esbensen (2001) addressed the limitations of the cross-sectional evaluation of the GREAT program by extending his analysis to include a longitudinally based quasi-experimental design where students from six of the cities where the GREAT program was implemented were randomly selected and compared with a randomly selected control group. Consisting of a pre-test, and two follow-up periods (one- and two-year), the study failed to find consistent behavioural or attitudinal differences between participants and non-participants across the data points (Westmacott et al., 2005: 6). The authors stress the importance of addressing social and structural considerations in the implementation of individually based prevention programs (Westmacott et al., 2005: 6).

The literature on the efficacy of gang-prevention research, unlike the research on gun-prevention programs, does not have a lot of empirical validity based on the studies that have been recently completed. The modest effects of the GREAT program (Esbensen and Osgood, 1999; Ramsey, Rust and Sobel, 2003) were not replicated in the longitudinal study of the GREAT program (Esbensen, 2003). However, the Little Village Gang Violent Reduction Project in Chicago did find consistently positive outcomes, which indicate that the at-risk youth did experience a decrease in arrests for violent crime. This program did not affect macro-level change in gang membership, and the associated costs of the programs might outweigh the statistical benefits.

School Based Community Initiatives

The GREAT program, designed as a gang resistance strategy targeting at-risk youth in high schools, provides an example of how the school is used as a medium for implementing community-based crime prevention strategies for high-risk youth. These schools have, in fact, increasingly become an important setting for these types of programs. In Ontario, the government has recently made an annual investment of $20 million for the Community Use of Schools (CUS), which is predicated on the assumption that "schools in Ontario are recognized as hubs for community activity and will be affordable and accessible in order to support the goals of a healthier Ontario" (Community Social Planning Council of Toronto, 2007: 6).

This review will therefore consider recent programs that have integrated school-community collaborations in order to prevent youth violence. These studies, in addition to the GREAT program, considered above, will help to inform the current state of the school-community collaborative literature.

In a program funded by the Canadian Department of Justice, 21 Vancouver-based high-risk youth under the age of 12 were selected from the Community-Based Crime Prevention Program, a larger five-year-based initiative. Utilizing an interdisciplinary team of professionals that included classroom teachers, special education teachers, family counsellors, and community-based workers, the study found that, using the classroom as the primary setting for a community-level prevention program, this group of at-risk youth did not experience a decrease in their level of violence. Sibylle Artz did note, however, that there was a 41.2 per cent drop in the overall school violence rate during the course of the study (Artz, 2001).

In another prevention program recognizing the importance of both the school and community in predicting levels of violence, Rollin et al. (2003) studied the effectiveness of a community-based violence prevention program on a sample of 80 high-risk grade eight students in three of Florida's public schools (Rollin et al., 2003: 404). Utilizing multivariate analysis of variance techniques (MANOVA) and t-tests, the authors found that the children receiving the mentorship program had significantly reduced numbers of suspensions and school-based infractions relative to those who did not. Despite these encouraging findings, the authors are careful to note that the study had problems with missing data, observational biases (i.e., the Hawthorne Effect), and a limited amount of statistical power (Rollin et al., 2003: 414). These limitations all serve to increase the probability of committing a type-1 error, and their presence therefore limits the extent to which these results can be trusted.

Table 3. Community-Based School Violence Prevention Programs

Author Name	Title of Study	Type of Intervention	Methodology and Statistics	Results and Conclusions
Rollin et al., 2003	School-based violence prevention model for at-risk grade eighth youth (North Florida)	Mentorship program where a group of at-risk grade eight youth received one-to-one mentorship from an adult mentor	-Study used a control group study to examine the differences between those receiving the mentorship program vs. those who did not. -MANOVA, t-test were used to examine the differences	-The group receiving the mentorship had significantly fewer suspensions and other school-based infractions -The study did not, however have a large sample size, which means there is a potential problem with type-1 errors. There were also problems with missing data
Artz, 2001	Community-based approach for dealing with chronically violent under 12-year-old children (Vancouver Island)	-A group of high-risk 12-year-old children received support from a wide variety of professionals over a 5-month period	-Not stated	-The 21 at-risk youth did not experience decreased levels of violence, although the broader Community-Based Violence Prevention Initiative did find a significant reduction in violence
Casella, 2002	Where public meets the pavement: Stages of public involvement in the prevention of school violence (New York State)	-A qualitative and theoretically-based article where the author discusses the relationship between school-based violence and the import of the broader community	-Semi-structured qualitative interviews, and a theoretical framework	-Schools need funding and collaborations with community-based agencies in order to address the underlying structural determinants of school-based violence
Esbensen and Osgood, 1999; Ramsey et al., 2003	Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) program, Arizona	-9-week training program for at-risk youth from local police	-Cross-sectional posttest design with statistically robust weighting techniques	-Moderate effects (effect size) on pro-social behaviours and self-reported behaviour
Esbensen, 2001	Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) program, Arizona	-9-week training program for at-risk youth from local police	-Longitudinal follow-up of randomly selected participants from the GREAT program with a randomly selected control group	-Failure to replicate cross-sectional results; students fail to show find consistent behavioural or attitudinal differences

Segawa, et al., 2005	Evaluation of the Effects of the Aban Aya Youth Project in Reducing Violence among African American Youth Using Latent Growth Mixture Modeling Techniques , Chicago Illinois	-Aban Aya youth project was a longitudinal efficacy trial designed to compare three interventions: School-community, Social Developmental, and Health Enhancement	-Longitudinal randomized trial of 552 high-risk African-American adolescent boys in 12 high-risk classes (Chicago) -Pre-test given at the start of grade five, and followed up at the end of grades five, six, seven, and eight -Latent growth modelling was used to identify clusters	-Results reveal that there are three distinct "clusters" of youth in terms of growth modelling, with a "high-risk" subgroup emerging as a distinct group. -These results suggest that there are distinct subgroups of children/youth within a high-risk sample/community
Jagers, et al., 2007	An examination of the role of mediators in the prevention of violent behaviours in the Aban Aya Youth Project, Chicago Illinois	Aban Aya youth project was a longitudinal efficacy trial designed to compare three interventions: School-community, Social Developmental, and Health Enhancement	Longitudinal randomized trial of 552 high-risk African-American adolescent boys in 12 high-risk classes (Chicago) -Pre-test given at the start of grade five, and followed up at the end of grades five, six, seven, and eight -Mediators were used to see whether communal values, self-efficacy, and empathy determined violent behaviours	-The youth in the treatment group experienced a greater growth in empathy relative to the control groups, which mediated the development of violent behaviour

A more statistically robust framework was used to examine the impact of the Aban Aya Project, a community-based prevention program for at-risk African-American adolescents residing in high-risk Chicago neighbourhoods. Using a longitudinal randomized design (LRT), the researchers used latent class growth mixture models (i.e., multilevel models) on five waves of self-report data (pre-test and four follow-up tests, given to students through the end of grade eight). By adequately dealing with a nested data structure (e.g., observations nested within the individual over time), and with missing observations (Segawa et al., 2003: 129), the researchers found that, using a violence scale ranging from zero to 21 (Segawa et al., 2003: 133), three distinct classes of children emerged. These three classes (low-risk, medium-risk, and high-risk) emerged regardless of the treatment condition, leading the authors to conclude that the program had differential effects on different clusters of individuals, and that different subgroups may, in fact, be responsive to different treatment modalities.

In a more recent study using data obtained from the Aban Aya Youth Project (AAYP), Jagers et al. (2007), examined whether changes in violent behaviours over time were mediated by the following intervening variables: community values (i.e., social cohesion), empathy, and violence avoidance efficacy (i.e., ability to exert control and goal achievement) (Jagers et al., 2007: 172). The results from their longitudinal mediation analyses suggest that youth in the treatment condition experienced a greater growth in empathy relative to the control group, and that this growth mediated the development of violent behaviour (Jagers et al., 2007: 177). And, while the study did not find that either community values or self-efficacy was significant for the AAYP group, self-efficacy was associated with the reduced likelihood of violent behaviour (Jagers et al., 2007: 177).

The results from these two studies suggest that the AAYP intervention was most effective for the group of high-risk boys (Segawa et al., 2005), and that empathy mediates the relationship between the AAYP intervention and youth violence (Jagers et al., 2007). Irrespective of the specific findings, these studies, taken together, represent how a longitudinal school-based design can be implemented in order to investigate the effect of a broader community-based cultural intervention.

The need to consider the school concurrently with the broader community was emphasized by Ronnie Casella (2002) in her qualitative work entitled "Where the policy meets the pavement: stages of public involvement in the prevention of school violence." Using a series of semi-structured interviews from two high schools in New York State, Cassella argues that addressing school-based violence is dependent on "community-based initiatives [that are] just now becoming institutionalized in schools" (Casella, 2002: 349). This argument is based on the assumption that community-based organizations and the school are both fundamental in violence prevention programs, and that with the appropriate allocation of resources, the collaborative efforts of the social service agencies, police departments, and the school can combine to positively affect the structural determinants of violence.

Community Mobilization and Empowerment

Whereas the previous sections were devoted to evaluating community-based prevention that focused on harm reduction strategies (e.g., gun violence and gang violence), this section will assess some of the literature loosely classified under the umbrella of community mobilization and empowerment. While this terminology is shrouded by the lack of a clear definition (Welsh and Hoshi, 2002: 168–169), it is useful to consider this as a qualitatively distinct category, because the emphasis of these programs is on empowering the community as a means for improvement (Lai, 2005). And, while many of the previous evaluations did have elements of their program designed to empower members of the community (e.g., Segawa et al., 2005), these programs are considered separately because community empowerment was the primary focal point of these studies (see table 4 for an overview of these programs).

In their article entitled "Engaging Community Residents to Prevent Violence," Bowen, Gwiasda and Brown (2004) describe how the Institute for Community Peace (ICP) was founded to address concerns over escalating rates of youth violence in the United States. The ICP views violence as a "complex phenomenon arising from individual, systemic, and societal factors" (Bowen et al., 2004: 357) and found that few resources were directed towards primary prevention. Based on the assumption that communities can be engaged to prevent violence, and can break the cycle of violence (Bowen et al., 2004: 357), the ICP presents a theory of change including creating safety, understanding violence, building communities, promoting peace, and building democracy and social justice. The authors claim that their program led to "dramatic decreases in community homicide rates, vast physical improvements….and the active engagement of community residents" (Bowen et al., 2004: 362). However, the authors do not support these claims with any description of their sample, their methodology, or the type of program they reviewed. So, while it is plausible that the ICP did, in fact, lead to decreased homicide rates and a safer community, there is no evidence to substantiate these findings. Given the fact that there was a general decline in the homicide rates throughout the country during the time in which this "study" was conducted, it is impossible to discern whether, with any degree of certainty, these findings have any merit, or whether they were part of a more general trend.

Table 4. Community Empowerment Programs

Author Name	Title of Study	Type of Intervention	Methodology and Statistics	Results and Conclusions
Bowen et al., 2004	Engaging Community Residents to Prevent Violence	-The ICP (Institute for Community Peace) present a theory of change including creating safety, understanding violence, promoting peace, and building communities	-No overview of the methods, statistics, sample, or the location of the sample were provided	-Authors claim that their program led to "dramatic decreases in community homicide rates and vast physical improvements," although no data was described and no evidence was provided
Lai, 2005	Responding to Asian Pacific Islander youth violence: Lessons learned from a community mobilization strategy, 2005	-Implementation of a community mobilization effort called the Community Response Plan to identify risk and protective factors for API youth	-Not fully explicated, although they have cited the commitment to being "data driven"	-Still tentative, as there has not been an investigation of the associated effect(s) on reducing violence -Future evaluations are required
Andres-Hyman et al., 2007	Oppression and Empowerment: Perceptions of Violence Among Urban Youth, New Haven, Connecticut	-Case studies using community-building and improvisational role-playing	-Case studies and role-playing	-Youths view violence through the lens of "social ills," and by using role-playing, a sense of "hopelessness" was expressed

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCD) implemented a federally funded community mobilization effort, which, beginning in 2001, was designed to prevent youth violence in Oakland, California's Asian Pacific Islander (API) youth population. The API youth, while relatively small in terms of their overall proportion of the population, have experienced vast increases in terms of youth violence, and as a larger group, the Asian Pacific Islanders suffer from economic and linguistic disadvantages (Lai, 2005: 163–64). In an effort to address these issues, a multi-year mobilization effort called the Community Response Plan (CRP) was implemented by a group of community leaders to coordinate data analysis in order to identify risk and protective factors associated with the API. The initiative successfully facilitated a greater level of collaboration between various agencies, and the authors recommend a continued growth of the community response plan (CRP), asserting that while community mobilization requires a lot of investment and effort, it can successfully meet the larger goals of violence prevention (Lai, 2005: 178). While this may be true, future work needs to evaluate whether the theory is, in fact, associated with decreases in violence, and whether this costly intervention actually meets its mandate.

Andres-Hyman et al. (2007), in their paper entitled "Oppression and Empowerment: Perceptions of Violence among Urban Youth," examined the implementation of a community-based empowerment program in New Haven, Connecticut that was designed to build community consensus around issues of youth violence. Using community-building techniques and improvisational theatre techniques, the authors found that youth view violence through the "lens of social ills" (154), and in particular, through economic stratification and hopelessness (154). In addition, they also found that role-playing "realistic" situations helped facilitate the expression of thought and perspective in the youth that would have otherwise been difficult to articulate, and they believe that improvisational role-play is a potential research tool that can help build community empowerment.

These studies, considered together, exemplify the type of inadequate research that frustrated Dennis Rosenbaum 20 years ago. Based largely on an ideological belief about the world rather than on any established methodological rigour, these studies leave the reader wanting. In particular, Bowen, Gwiasda and Brown's (2004) evaluation of the Institute of Community Peace is emblematic of research that offers powerful conclusions without any accompanying evidence.

Future research evaluating community mobilization and empowerment must address these limitations, and if they expect to receive substantial amounts of public money, then there has to be some demonstration of efficacy.

Conclusion and Future Directions

When Dennis Rosenbaum initially synthesized the community-based crime prevention literature in 1988, he was disheartened by the general lack of quality in evaluation research (Rosenbaum, 1988: 381). Similarly, Welsh and Hoshi (2002) expressed their disappointment regarding the scientific rigour of the body of evaluation literature, taken as a whole (189). Despite these seemingly pessimistic conclusions, both reviews emphasized the redeeming features of community-based crime prevention, and were optimistic that future research could rectify the limitations outlined in their respective studies.

Assessing the community-based crime prevention literature over the past decade, this review found that, there is indeed, reason for optimism as many advancements have been made. In particular, Operation Ceasefire's collaboration between the police, the broader community, and academic researchers has provided a strong framework that has become standard policy in American federally funded projects. The implementation of this "evidence-based" practice has resulted in evaluations that are grounded in methodology, and as a result, some programs have proved to be successful in preventing crime.

While more research has abided by these evaluation standards, there are still many programs, based on ideological assumptions, that are resistant to validating the efficacy of their programs. In addition, there is still too much research that fails to utilize appropriate control groups and proper statistical analyses that are essential in minimizing type 1 error.

Future research needs to rectify these limitations and continue to build on the methodological advancements that have been made over the past decade. With "36.2 per cent of global mortality due to interpersonal violence occurring among young adults aged 15-29 years" (Leschied, 2007: 41-42), it is important to understand how we can implement effective interventions to reduce youth violence. Time is of the essence.

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Conclusion

Crime prevention through community development is not a specific crime prevention program. It would be more accurate to classify it as a crime prevention philosophy or orientation. The crime-prevention-through-community-development (CPCD) philosophy maintains that, in order to address crime and promote social justice, the root causes of crime must be addressed. Community development, it is argued, can do this by changing negative influences within the social, economic, educational and environmental domains (see Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). As described by Acosta and Chavis (2007: 651), "Community development occurs when community residents establish their own organizations to support long-term community problem solving, with the goals of improving the quality of life for all residents, reducing social inequalities such as poverty and racism, upholding democratic values, encouraging residents to reach their potential, and creating a sense of community in which people work together to accomplish goals."

Compared with individual programs, the community development philosophy provides a much more comprehensive and sustainable model for crime prevention. One comprehensive community development model is known as the weed and seed strategy. Weeding refers the identification and removal of criminals from specific neighbourhoods. Seeding refers to intensive community-development strategies designed to reduce poverty and inequality, improve housing, increase employment and educational opportunities, reduce racism, and increase levels of youth engagement. Weeding and seeding are typically accomplished through four interconnected strategies (Acosta and Chavis, 2007):

1. Law enforcement weeds out violent offenders by coordinating and integrating efforts in high-crime neighbourhoods. The establishment of special anti-violence units or guns and gangs task forces can be used to accomplish these goals.

2. Community policing is used next to repair the damage done by aggressive policing tactics. Community policing efforts are also used to increase community involvement in crime prevention and increase community confidence in the criminal justice system.

3. Prevention, intervention and rehabilitation strategies are developed and implemented to address the risk and protective factors associated with neighbourhood crime and violence.

4. Neighbourhood revitalization and restoration efforts are fully supported and implemented. Economic development initiatives are used to strengthen community institutions and revitalize physical, educational, economic, social and recreational conditions within specific communities.

However, according to the evaluation literature, weed and seed initiatives have only been somewhat successful. The problem is that, in North America, governments tend to heavily fund the "weed" part of the equation without adequately funding the "seed" component (see the extensive discussion of this issue in Waller, 2006). In many cases, the bulk of available resources are allocated to policing and corrections activities, while very little funding is provided to community development initiatives. For example, a recent analysis revealed that over two-thirds of the financial resources extended for gang reduction in Los Angeles was allocated to police suppression efforts. Less than a third was allocated to community crime prevention or community development (see Justice Policy Institute, 2007). Under such circumstances, individual criminals and gang members are often arrested and convicted, only to be replaced by the next generation of offenders who have experienced the same levels of economic and social marginalization as their predecessors have.

It should also be noted that, unless they are accompanied by strong community policing and community development initiatives, aggressive policing tactics can have a negative impact on community conditions, contribute to the alienation and frustration of minority youth, and ultimately contribute to violent crime. Research indicates, for example, that heavy-handed suppression efforts can increase gang cohesion and aggravate police-community tensions (see Justice Policy Institute, 2007; Decker, 2007; Skogan, 2006; Klein and Maxson, 2006).

It is understandable, however, why tough-on-crime, police suppression techniques remain popular. First of all, although research suggests that harsh punishment does not deter crime, it does provide retribution and a sense that justice has been done. When a violent crime takes place, the majority of people in Canadian society want to see the offender brought to justice. Police suppression efforts can provide this form of immediate gratification. During the moral panic that often accompanies high-profile violent incidents, the general public often demands immediate action. The police are typically the only organization that can satisfy this need. The investment of millions of dollars into a special guns and gang unit, for example, might soon result in a number of high-profile arrests that can be effectively communicated through the news media. By contrast, most effective crime prevention efforts, including community development initiatives, take decades before they can demonstrate positive results.

Summary

The discussion provided in the chapters above have highlighted a number of proven and promising programs that can help reduce youth crime and violence. Unfortunately, there is no magic formula. No matter how hard we try, we will never be able to identify a single, perfect program that will prevent violence and criminality for all youth. One size does not fit all. It is clear, therefore, that an individualized case management strategy may be the most promising way of dealing with individuals. It is also clear that youth may require more than one type of program in order to avoid violence and other negative life outcomes. There is a popular African proverb that states, "It takes a community to raise a child." Consistent with this theme, evaluation research suggests that it may take a community of effective programs to prevent youth crime and violence.

But how can the administration of so many programs be properly managed? How can we ensure that the correct constellation of prevention programs reach the right children and youth? Many scholars have come to believe that we must create a centralized governance body, perhaps a crime prevention department or ministry, in order to effectively manage the implementation and administration of these programs (see Waller, 2006; Welsh and Farrington, 2007).

In conclusion, when considering the prevention of youth violence, the following principles should be taken into account:

- Programs that address multiple risk factors are more effective than those that address only one.
- Programs that operate across social settings – including the family, schools, peer groups and the wider community – are more effective than programs that are isolated within one area of a young person's life.
- Programs containing skill-based components that increase educational attainment and improve employment prospects are particularly effective.
- Violent offending is linked to deficiencies in thought processes and poor problem-solving skills. Programs that build social competence skills are thus beneficial.
- School-based programs focusing on the way classes are run and emphasizing behavioural skills are effective.
- Programs that are culturally specific are effective.

- Effective programs require clearly stated aims and objectives, well-trained and committed staff, and strict regulations that support program integrity.

- Effective programs need to be sufficient in length and intensity. Short-term, poorly funded programs are often ineffective.

- Programs that target young children are somewhat more effective than programs that target adolescents who have already demonstrated delinquent or violent behaviour.

- Programs need to be extensively monitored and evaluated to establish effectiveness. High-quality evaluation is needed to identify ineffective practices and improve upon interventions that demonstrate promise.

Of course it is equally important to highlight programs that have been proven to be only marginally effective or ineffective at reducing youth violence by high-quality evaluation research. A list of such approaches, identified by our literature review, is provided below. It should be noted that although these programs are of questionable benefit when it comes to the reduction of youth violence, they may have other benefits.

- Scared Straight Programs

- Gun buyback programs

- Curfews for adolescents

- Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E).

- Instructional programs focusing on information dissemination, fear arousal and moral appeal; instructional programs that do not incorporate cognitive-behavioural techniques

- Short-term, nonresidential training programs for at-risk youth.

- Neighbourhood watch programs located within high-crime neighbourhoods

- Arrests of juveniles for minor offences

- Correctional boot camps using traditional military training

- Harsh sentences for young offenders

- Aggressive policing tactics (including guns and gangs task forces, special anti-violence units, etc.) that are not supplemented with community policing and community development initiatives
- Correctional punishment without treatment and rehabilitation services
- Correctional punishment without follow-up treatment in community settings
- Out-of-home placements for young offenders
- Zero tolerance programs within school systems
- Heightened security within schools (including the use of security cameras, metal detectors, student pass-cards, hall monitors and student uniforms)

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